"Newcomb and Adams have researched this whole matter far more extensively than I have, and they have come to far more specific conclusions. What they write is shocking—more shocking than some of the earlier, more frenetically expressed charges and insinuations—almost stunning because they are not insinuations at all but flat statements as if of known fact, known inferentially, to be sure, but inescapably. Then, as indicated above, they adduce a wealth, not to say a plethora, of documentation. Their imputations against the Secret Service are in general no more extreme than many which have long passed current against the CIA.

I don't know whether the Secret Service killed the man it is hired to protect or not, just as I don't know whether Huey Long was shot by his own bodyguard, as many believe in Louisiana. I'm not a detective, but just a fellow who sits and reads books. I also read newspapers and magazines. Sometimes I can't help thinking about what I read. As I read Newcomb and Adams I could not confirm or automatically accept what they were saying. But neither, as I examined their documentation, could I charge them with recklessness or arguing from prejudice or malice. Whether they have seen correctly what they have looked at, I think they have called the shots (if you will pardon the gruesome pun) as they have seen them."

—Prof. Medford Evans October, 1975 review of *Murder From Within* in *American Opinion*

Written in 1974, Murder From Within tells what actually happened to President Kennedy, the consequences of his murder, and what actions Americans can take to protect their institutions from further internal assault.

This plot, which involved only a handful of high officials and a few Secret Service agents, called for President Kennedy to be brought to Dallas and executed in public. His body was then forcibly removed from the control of the Dallas Coroner and flown to Washingon, D.C., to a military hospital. There, autopsy findings were supervised to foil a later investigation and implicate a scapegoat.

The scapegoat for the crime was placed near the motorcade by being told to look for work at locations on one of two likely parade routes. Once he had a job, the motorcade was planned to pass in front of where he worked. In this way, it would appear that he had found his position by accident. To plan the route first and then place the scapegoat in position would raise serious questions in an investigation about his prior knowledge.

Seven years in the making, Murder From Within shows in detail exactly how a small high level group within Kennedy's own cabinet betrayed him and killed him to benefit an ambitious vice president determined to become president no matter what.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

FRED NEWCOMB, now 82, an award-winning advertising art director with expertise in photography and graphics, began his study of the assassination as far back as 1966 when he showed how the notorious Oswald backyard photos, one of which ended up on the cover of *Life* magazine, were altered. **PERRY ADAMS**, now deceased, political scientist and editor of *Probe* (an investigative newspaper based in Santa Barbara, California) teamed up with Newcomb to write *Murder From Within*.

The book is long overdue and finally being made available to the public. It answers Warren Commission member and former CIA Director (who was fired by President Kennedy) Allen Dulles's original challenge to the Commission's critics in 1966: "If they've found another assassin, let them name names and produce their evidence."

***MURDER FROM WITHIN* ANSWERS THAT CHALLENGE.**

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Lyndon Johnson's Plot Against President Kennedy

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What others say about this book and its authors:

"The best of the Warren Commission critics [include] . . . Fred Newcomb, Perry Adams . . ."—Rolling Stone

"Newcomb and Adams have researched this whole matter far more extensively than I have, and they have come to far more specific conclusions. What they write is shocking—more shocking than some of the earlier, more frenetically expressed charges and insinuations—almost stunning because they are not insinuations at all but flat statements as if of known fact, known inferentially, to be sure, but inescapably. Then, as indicated above, they adduce a wealth, not to say a plethora, of documentation. Their imputations against the Secret Service are in general no more extreme than many which have long passed current against the CIA.

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from prejudice or malice. Whether they have seen correctly what they have looked at, I think they have called the shots (if you will pardon the gruesome pun) as they have seen them."

Prof. Medford Evans October 1975 review of *Murder From Within* in *American Opinion*. (Evans graduated *magna cum laude* from Yale University, Phi Beta Kappa, in 1955).

"Newcomb and Adams . . . have proposed an explanation of the John F. Kennedy assassination that involves a small number of government officials and Secret Service agents.—Charles G. Wilber, Medico-legal Investigation of the President John F. Kennedy Murder.

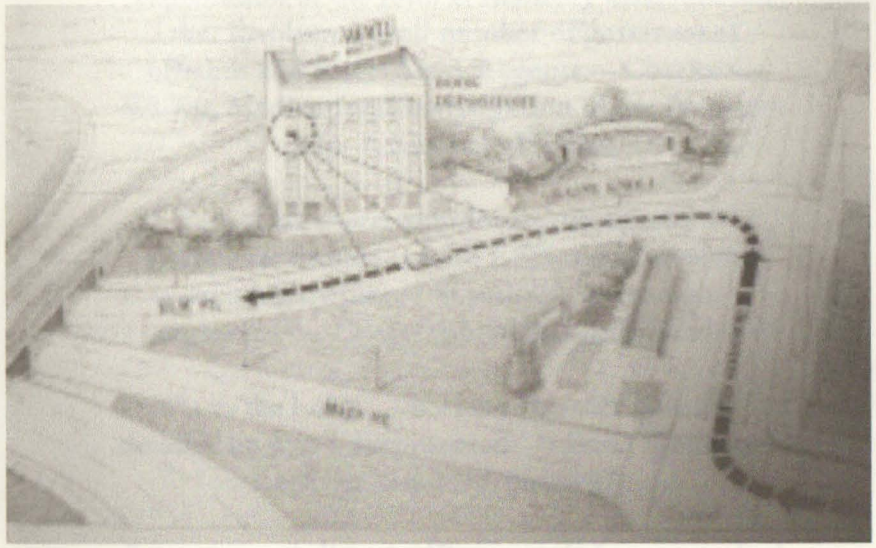
" . . . there was a complicated conspiracy to assassinate President John F. Kennedy involving men highly placed in various government agencies."—Congressional Research Service

" . . . the book . . . seems to be very concise, detailed and well documented."—Barry Goldwater, five-term senator from Arizona

" . . . upon reading the 'Execution' chapter, we had just read history."—Initial Image UK

"The entire research community is so indebted to Fred Newcomb: he gave us the body alteration theory (years before David Lifton), cogent criticisms of the Secret Service (while I was in diapers!), analysis of the LHO backyard photos (later made famous by jack White), the Dodd/ Seaport Traders theory (in "Reasonable Doubt" and "Ultimate Sacrifice", among others), and, unfortunately, the Greer-shot-JFK theory (years

before William Cooper et. al.). That aside, this book reads well and even has good comments about JFK's foreign policy (Vietnam). I am a proud owner of an original.
-Vince Palamara-JFK/ Secret Service expert
(History Channel, author of two books, listed in over 30 other author's books, etc.)
Pittsburgh, PA" From his Amazon review of Murder From Within



Forward

"That which is most simple and obvious is the hardest to fathom"
E.A. Poe

How It All Began

I remember it like it was yesterday. It was early summer in 1966 and I was sitting at the breakfast table with my father, Fred T. Newcomb while he was reading a front page article in the L.A. Times written by Robert J. Donovan. It was a review of a new book written by Edward J. Epstein entitled *Inquest.* Suddenly, Dad got up and started pacing the kitchen floor. "My God, someone else may have shot Kennedy" were his words. That was how it all began.

For the next 8 years nearly all of his spare time and money was devoted to the subject. With the partnership of Perry Adams it eventually culminated in the writing of *Murder From Within* in 1974.

Dad and Perry wrote *Murder From Within* after years of hard work and thousands of dollars in personal expense. I witnessed this first hand while I was in college at ASU in Tempe AZ and helped out when I could (for example buying them the Warren Commissions 26 Volumes and Exhibits for their use and study and venturing to the National Archives in Washington DC for documents and to Bill Greer's home in nearby Maryland (the driver of the Limo that day) to try to interview him in 1973. During this time Dad and his two associates Gil Toff and Roy Dennis telephonically interviewed nearly 50 witnesses comprising 30 hours of tape. Many of these interviews became the basis for the book. One cannot listen to some of the Dallas

Police officers interviewed (who smelled "gunpowder right there in the street" and heard shots "right next to me") and not come away convinced there really was gunfire from within the motorcade. One cannot listen to 2 police officers stationed at Parkland Hospital who were standing next to the Limo and who each saw a bullet hole in the windshield and not become convinced of evidence tampering by the Secret Service.

When the book was just about completed they printed up @ 100 copies at a personal cost of far more than $1000 (in the 1970's an enormous expense for their modest incomes and lifestyles). Not For Sale was explicitly stamped at the beginning. All copies were mailed to prominent Senators, Congressmen, FBI Agents and other law enforcement personnel for the express purpose of seriously reopening the case. Perhaps the 1976 House Select Committee on Assassinations came to be in some small measure from someone there reading Murder From Within? He and Perry were asked to testify.

I often wondered about that and also wondered what motivated my Dad to do what he did by not trying to market and sell this incredible story. It didn't make sense to me at the time. I am more pragmatic than my father. Eventually I realized Dad was not motivated by greed. He was an Idealist on a mission. After all is said and done (what with all the critics of the critics complaining about the "money making motivation" for their books) that is to be admired.

During this time I was in a traveling Rock Show Band The Gringos and nearly every town we played in I would do a JFK Assassination slide show and film and audio tape show. A primitive Powerpoint presentation so to speak in 32 different States at all the Night Clubs we played. I would guess hundreds of people over the years saw this or heard about this "theory" and believe it. Nearly Every time I ask them to take their eyes off Kennedy and watch the Driver while projecting the Zapruder Film (we had a bootleg copy from Jim Garrison 7 years before Geraldo showed it on TV) a gasp and groan comes out "Oh My God . . . he did it". The "optical illusion" on the film of the Driver turning, aiming, firing and turning back to drive at the moment Kennedy's head explodes is mind shattering. What are the odds such a thing could actually happen at that exact instant on the most important amateur film ever made? The "gun" however upon

close frame inspection appears to be part of Roy Kellerman's hair. But is it? (Fig. Forward-1) No one can prove it either way because the film was in possession of the Secret Service and if Dad's theory is correct they were busy altering the film itself creating a new original obliterating their complicity in the killing.

For the better part of forty years all of us have been scouring the landscape for a gunman other than Oswald. We've looked in trees and bushes the sewer system the Dal-Tex building the overpass everywhere except the most obvious place, the car itself, which conveniently and by design became both a portable crime scene and the "get away" car.

All along it was right there in front of us. Our eyes can't believe it. "That's preposterous" is the first reaction. But it's really the only theory that answers the oft asked question why did Jackie frantically try to get out of the car? Was she going for help or trying to retrieve a part of Kennedy's skull? No. The first law in times of danger is self-preservation. As Lenny Bruce so inelegantly put it . . . "She was hauling ass to save ass".

Over the years the 100 + copies of the book became an underground cult rarity and "must have" in the JFK Assassination Research and Collector community. Copies of it were cheaply Xeroxed in Canada and illegally sold from there for $30. These copies made the rounds between researchers and collectors alike.

For years and years I have been asked by scores of people if they could purchase a copy of the manuscript Murder From Within. I've always politely declined and told them I only have my one personal signed copy # 95 but that perhaps someday it will be released and published. That someday has finally arrived. It is the fondest wish of myself, my sister Valerie and Bonnie Adams (Perry's widow) to have it legally and professionally printed and published while Dad is still alive (although ailing). What did Dad say when we told him about this from his convalescent bed? He smiled and said simply "get 'er dun".

If you are reading this for first time and all you know about it is "the Driver did it" theory be prepared to find a lot more to it than just that. Read this knowing it was written years and years before anyone else had pointed a

finger at the Secret Service and Lyndon Johnson. This theory out of all of them is the only one that can truly hold together as far as answering the 3 major questions: Why did it happen (motive), Who was responsible and most important How was it covered up and a scapegoat framed.

Who could have done such a thing and gotten away with The Crime of the Century? The "simplest explanation is the best" or "Occam's Razor" which is an old Lawyers Maxim and certainly applies in this case. Only a small, brutal and fiendishly clever group led by the only person driven to benefit from the murder directly could have accomplished such a dastardly deed. All of this is certainly not without precedence in history. Going all the way back to Caesar and several Roman emperors (who were done in by their inner circle and by their own praetorian guards) and on up to Napoleon (arsenic poisoning?) Huey Long, Benigno Aquino (army airport security), Anwar Sadat and recently Indhira Ghandi.

Once the power of the Presidency was obtained Lyndon Johnson could and did control the flow and manipulation of the evidence and also had the umbrella of cover that if it were exposed it could quite literally collapse the entire US Government. If exposed as an illegitimate President guilty of a murder conspiracy the country very well could have descended into a new civil war. Most people who "knew" kept quiet knowing full well that this is truly "national security" and must never be exposed lest the entire country fall into complete uncontrollable civil unrest. Did Jackie tell Bobby what she thought? That the car stopped during the shooting? That there was a large exit wound in the back of his head and an ear shattering sound in her left ear combined with awful smell of gunpowder? Did they decide to go along with the official story and wait until 1968 to win back the Presidency and expose it then? We all know what happened to Bobby, don't we?

About 6 years ago I came across a very obscure document buried deep inside the mass of ARRB medical files online it was simply titled "Janie Taylor". After reading the one page summary of the evidence in it I immediately called Dad. "This is what we've been searching for all these years" was his response. The following is a copy of the document.

CALL REPORT

Issue # 43

Document's Author: Dave Montague/ARRB **Date Created:** 11/24/95

The Players

Who called whom?

Who initiated the call? (●) We initiated call ( ) Individual initiated call

Description of the Call

Date: 11/24/95

Subject: **Interview Of Janie B. Taylor Re:JFK Autopsy Information**

Summary of the Call:

I spoke with retired biologist Janie Taylor today regarding an account she was told regarding the JFK Autopsy. Taylor worked as a biologist at the National Institute of Health (NIH) in 1963. NIH is physically located across the street from the Bethesda Naval Medical Center, where the JFK autopsy was conducted. I informed her of the fact that the secrecy order applicable to people at the autopsy was lifted in 1977.

A man named Clarence Israel (deceased) of Rockville, MD told Taylor that his brother (deceased and no name given) was one of two African-American orderlies present in the autopsy room of the Medical Center the day of the autopsy. Israel said his brother had not mentioned the story to anyone including his wife & daughter who his brother outlived. His brother wanted to insure that his story was known because he was verbally threatened by a guard at the time of the autopsy.

Taylor said that African-Americans during that time period were often ignored and that non-African-American workers in many workplaces would assume that an African-American's presence did not count. She believed that activities were often done in their presence with the perception that the activities would never be reported.

Israel told her **the orderlies saw one doctor was in the autopsy room at the Medical Center who was waiting for some time prior to the arrival of the body and any other physicians. When the body arrived, many people were forced out of the room and the doctor performed some type of mutilation of three bullet punctures to the head area. The doctor was working at a very "hurried" pace and was done within a few minutes, at which point he left the autopsy room.**

Taylor believes she may have Israel's obituary which may provide more information about the family and any other relatives which may know of the story. I thanked her for her time and told her I would send an information packet and letter to her based on our conversation.

Taylor's information is:

Mrs. Janie B. Taylor

[redacted]

– MD 45 –

000559

It literally screams for follow-up and verification which no one apparently did at the ARRB (Assassination Records Review Board). So armed with Google and the Internet I found Janie Taylor and she was interviewed in 2007 along with Dave Montague her contact at the ARRB. From there I found that Clarence Israel was a semi pro ballplayer in the Negro League and batted against the legendary Satchel Paige.

From the Congressional Record Online via GPO Access [wais.access.gpo.gov]
[DOCID:cr04mr97-18]

TRIBUTE TO NEGRO LEAGUE HEROES FROM LINCOLN PARK

HON. CONSTANCE A. MORELLA of maryland in the house of representatives
Tuesday, March 4, 1997 Mrs. MORELLA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute the community of Lincoln Park, which celebrates its 106th anniversary this year. Lincoln Park is a self-contained community within the city of Rockville, MD. As an African-American community, through the years it has managed to keep rich its traditions and history. Lincoln Park is unique not only for its heritage, but also for how the residents interact together. They have continued to work together as a community in the same manner that their ancestors did long ago. The effort to retain and continue the traditions of their history gives the community respect for their ancestors and a vision of hope for their descendants. With the month of February designated as a time to celebrate Black History, it is only fitting that a community so rich in its African- American heritage would seek to share and explore its roots. Thanks to the hard work of founding president Anita Neal Powell and vice- president Deacon Leroy Neal, the Lincoln Park Historical Society held their 20th Annual Black History Program at Mt. Calvary Baptist Church on February 28. I wish to pay special tribute to Mr. Russell Awkward and Mr. Gordon Hopkins. These former professional Negro League baseball players will be speaking at the presentation on the topic, ``Building Historical Dreams for Our Children.'' These two fine gentlemen are the only members of the Negro League living in Montgomery County, MD. ***I also wish to honor Mr. Elbert Israel and Mr. Clarence Israel, also two former Negro baseball players from Rockville. Clarence Israel died in April 1987, and Elbert Israel passed away just this past October. The story of these men says a great deal about our history and the hopes and dreams for our children. Russell Awkward grew up with the dream of one day playing for the New York Yankees. He got his professional baseball career started by playing for the Washington Royal Giants. As a player, Awkward had good speed and was a consistent hitter, usually batting first or second in the batting order. He went on to play for the New York Cubans and the Newark Eagles until he was called to military service with the U.S. Army. Gordon Hopkins played second base for the Clowns for 2 years. He was good at getting the ball in play and was known for his ability to stretch hits into extra bases as well as for his exceptional range in the field. After the 1954 season he was drafted into the armed services, but still played baseball for the U.S. Marines. Clarence Israel played in the Negro League in the 1940's. He was a decent hitter with good speed and what he lacked in power he made up in hustle. He was a second baseman with the Newark Eagles for 3 years from 1940 to 1942. He then signed with the Homestead Grays to fill an empty spot at third base for the 1943 season. In 1946, he was back with the Eagles and helped them to win the Negro National League pennant for the first time in 9 years. He played three games of the World Series that year and had a pinch hit single off Satchel Paige to help the Eagles win the title. He returned the next season to the Grays***

My next task was to find any relatives to verify the claim in the document. I posted a note on the NLBPA (Negro Ball Players League Association) website asking for information about Clarence Israel. After more than one year I finally got a reply.

NEGRO LEAGUE BASEBALL PLAYERS ASSOCIATION

Clarence/Elbert Israel heirs or family, posted by Tyler Newcomb on 8/16/2004 12:56:47 PM

I am looking for any information leading to these players (brothers) family or heirs for research into their lives and personal history. Lived in Rockville MD I believe and died back in the mid 1980's.

Reply to this message

Re: Clarence/Elbert Israel heirs or family, posted by BUDDY on 8/24/2004 1:26:07 PM

HAVE FUN

Reply to this message

Re: Clarence/Elbert Israel heirs or family, posted by JIM LAVIN on 12/7/2006 3:16:07 AM

I discovered your posting on the NLBPA WEB SITE I wish I had seen it sooner. I have a ton of information for you regarding Elbert and Clarence ("PINT") Isreal!!!! Contact me at your earliest convenience @ SEGWAYJIM@MSN.COM and leave your name as well as number I will return your call immediately-- Thank You for your interest in these fine local American heros!!:-)

Reply to this message

Re: Re: Clarence/Elbert Israel heirs or family, posted by Ty Newcomb on 1/17/2007 9:14:47 AM

Hey Jim...Got the video clips you sent but haven't heard from you yet on the phone. I'm back from California now, any chance you could call to chat sometime?? I'm at [illegible]. Best, Ty

Reply to this message

Re: Re: Re: Clarence/Elbert Israel heirs or family, posted by TE on 7/22/2009 6:57:23 PM

Hello, Do you have footage of Pint Isreal. He is My Great Uncle. I would love to see him play.

Reply to this message

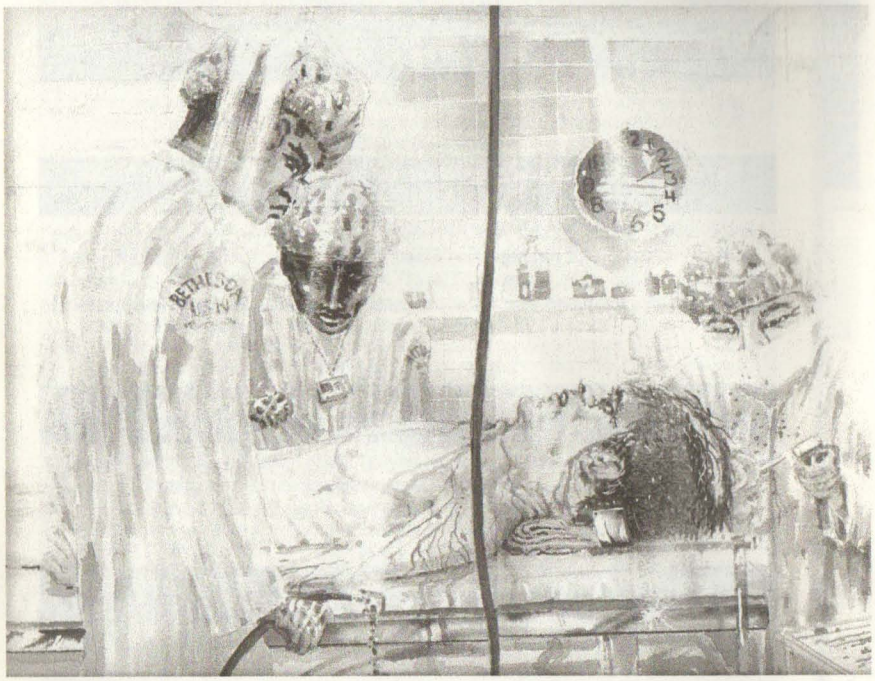
Re: Re: Re: Re: Clarence/Elbert Israel h, posted by Ty Newcomb on 8/24/2009 7:54:19 PM

I have no footage of him playing baseball my initial interest was about his being a witness to President Kennedy's Autopsy 11/23/1963 at Naval Bethesda Hospital where he and his brother worked as orderlies that night. Might you have any info pertaining to that or know someone who does? Thanks. Ty

Jim Lavin eventually did speak with Mrs. Elbert Israel and was told that yes indeed both he and his brother Clarence were on duty that night in the morgue of Bethesda Naval 11/22/1963. Neither of them ever spoke about it from then on until Janie Taylor was told by Clarence Israel just what kind of criminal acts were happening in front of their eyes that night. In

the words of Mrs. Israel "that's when he started drinking". Jim Lavin's father agreed saying "No wonder he started drinking".

Two years ago my father painted his last painting before becoming too disabled to continue to do that anymore. He told me when he finished he had tears streaming down his face.



About the Authors

Fred Newcomb and Perry Adams approached the subject of John F. Kennedy's assassination beginning in the 1960s from two different perspectives.

Fred Newcomb, now 82, an award winning self-employed advertising art director with expertise in photography and graphics, had just completed his now famous study about how the notorious Oswald backyard photos, one of which ended up on the cover of Life Magazine, were faked. He lived in Sherman Oaks CA at the time.

Perry Adams, now deceased, political scientist and editor of *Probe*, an investigative newspaper based in Santa Barbara California, was looking for a solid story about the Kennedy assassination. Perry graduated as a Librarian and his knowledge and ability to look up facts long before Google was around was indispensable in piecing the book together with it's extensive footnotes.

The two met and worked together on several newspaper and magazine articles. After several years they accumulated so much material they decided to pursue two paths. First, as good citizens, they approached authorities with the data as a basis for a new investigation. They also printed 100 copies and made the contents of the book available to Congress and law enforcement officials, but to no avail. Consequently, in 1982 they pursued the second path: to publish the book so the public could be made aware of their research, and draw their own conclusions.

After 3 different publishers backed out at the last minute over a 15-year span, the book was put on hold. Then Perry Adams passed away. With

Fred Newcomb the only surviving author, Tyler and Valerie Newcomb (Woods), together with Perry's widow Bonnie decided to publish the book themselves. The book has been updated and will be published by AuthorHouse while Fred is able to enjoy the final release. Tyler and Valerie are doing this as a loving tribute to their father, one of the original pioneers in the JFK Assassination research community. The book is long overdue and finally answers Warren Commission member and former CIA Director (who was fired by President Kennedy) Allen Dulles's original challenge to the Commission's critics in 1966: "If they've found another assassin let them name names and produce their evidence".

Murder From Within answers that challenge.

Original 1974 Acknowledgment

We gratefully acknowledge the invaluable help, inspiration, support, and friendship we have received from Marlynn Newcomb, Bonnie Adams, Ty, Greg, Val and Rochelle Newcomb, Gene and Connie Bradley, Lillian Castellano, Jack Clemente, Edward J. Epstein, Mike Ferrell, Mary, Buck, Larry and James Ferrell, Larry and Beverly Haapanen, Paul Hoch, Bernard Finsterwald, Steve Jaffee, Arch Kimbrough, Howard Miller, Gary Murr, Sylvia Meagher, Dennis and Esther Roy, Gary Schoener, Vince Salandria, Dick Sprague, Bob Smith, Josiah Thompson, Gil Toff, J.W., Roy Watson, the staff of the National Archives, doctors and staff of Parkland Hospital, several agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and some members of the Dallas Police Dept.

Updated Acknowledgements

Thanks also to Lisa Connors night editor at the Cape Cod Times, Andrew Newman of Andrew Newman Design, Jim Miller and Joe Vaughn studios for digitizing and preserving over 50 hours of taped interviews on old reel to reel tape, Ellen Regan proof reading, and Valerie (Newcomb) Woods daughters Kristin and Katie Woods. Finally to Fred's late son Gregory Newcomb (1950-1985) who assisted on many trips including one to Dallas and also on the day Fred, David Lifton and Jack Clemente examined Life Magazine's Zapruder film copies and slides for evidence of tampering and splicing as detailed in Chapter 4. It was also later detailed in Lifton's tome "Pig On A Leash" as part of Jim Fetzer's book The Great Zapruder Film Hoax.

Warning—Disclaimer

This book provides relevant information about the topic covered. We have tried to make this book complete and accurate. However, some mistakes (typographical and in content) may be present. In addition, this work has relevant information current only to the printing date. Our purpose is to educate. The authors and Probe Publishing disclaim all possible liability to any individual or entity for damages, including actual, incidental and consequential, real or alleged, directly or indirectly, resulting from reader usage of information contained in this book.

If these conditions are unacceptable, then return this book to the publisher for a full refund.

PART I

"Who's the leader of this conspiracy?"
"You won't believe it" Cade said.
"I'm ready to believe anything. Who is it?
"Lyndon B. Johnson"
Lee laughed. But Cade persisted:
"Who else stood to gain as much?"

—Claiy Blair, Jr., *The Board Room*

Destruction At Noonday

"Nancy Miller, 14, of Union, N.J., Wednesday shows her Kawameeh Junior High School a letter from President Johnson. Nancy wrote to the Vice President Johnson as part of a confirmation class project. In answer, Mr. Johnson said his favorite Bible verse is a passage telling of King David's fear of assassination, the 91st Psalm. The letter was written by Mr. Johnson 16 days before President Kennedy's assassination."

Caption under UPI wire photo of Dec. 5, 1963.

"You will not fear the terror of the night, nor the arrow that flies by day, nor the pestilence that stalks in darkness, nor the destruction that wastes at noonday.
A thousand may fall at your side, ten thousand at your right hand; but it will not come near you.
You will only look with your eyes and see the recompense of the wicked . . .
You will tread on the lion and the adder, the young lion and the serpent you will trample under foot."

Excerpt from 91st Psalm

Chapter One

Planning for November Maneuvering

President Kennedy to Dallas

Prelude

This book explains the 1963 murder that changed America. Who did it? How was it done? Why did the official investigation fail?

An ex-marine and Russian defector named Lee Harvey Oswald was implicated. He ordered a gun that fired a bullet found on a stretcher near the mortally wounded President. Did he fire that rifle? Where were the eye witnesses? The evidence was lacking. If not Oswald, then who? The new leadership tried to calm fears by claiming the murder was solved. The public remained skeptical. Was Oswald set up? To imagine a plot to kill a President and to plant evidence leads only to those at the highest level of government.

Did a rogue group in one of the intelligence agencies or in the military carry this out? Who could they turn to for protection to escape prosecution? After all, the murdered President's brother Robert was Attorney General.

Was it a group outside the government such as Cuban terrorists, fascist oil barons, or organized crime? They lacked the necessary access.

A successful plot had to completely control the route, speed, order and timing of the motorcade; the scapegoat; communications; and the key evidence of the body, the autopsy, and the limousine. Only the White House Secret Service detail had that capability. Only the new President had the power to take over the government, to manage information, and to control the investigation.

Our examination of the huge record of Warren Commission documents, with our extensive photographic and film collection, and dozens of interviews of those ignored by the official probe focused on the key political question:

Who benefited?

How did Oswald benefit? Where did he show his animosity? When the same question is asked of Lyndon Johnson, a record emerges of threats, hatred, and an abiding lust for power.

If politics is about dreams, then this is the story of a political nightmare. The target of this plot was the Presidency. A popular leader was killed to make room for his killer.

1964

Lyndon B. Johnson was to have been dropped as Vice-President in 1964, ending his political career. That career would also have ended in disgrace because of the scandal involving his close associate, Robert G. "Bobby" Baker. The sure way out was to become President.

Johnson received assistance from John B. Connally, Jr., his close political ally, and from Dean Rusk, Secretary of State.

Rumors

There were rumors, going back to 1962, that Johnson would not be on the 1964 Democratic party ticket as Vice President.[1] Connally, in late 1963, noted this: "The Democrats want to win the 1964 elections and they might insure a loss if they drop the Vice President." [2] With the "dump

LBJ" rumor, both Johnson and his friend Connally tried to maneuver President Kennedy into a position where he would find it politically embarrassing. Such a rumor would put pressure on the President to go to Texas and reaffirm his faith in the Vice-President.

Officially, the decision for the President's Texas trip was made on June 5, 1963, during a meeting at the El Cortez Hotel in El Paso, Texas, with Kennedy, Johnson and Connally. A summer date of Aug.-27, Johnson's birthday, was mentioned, but was rejected as impractical.[3]

Yet, 43 days before the official decision, Johnson publicly announced the trip on his own. On April 23, 1963, he told a Dallas audience the President might visit the city and four other Texas cities in the summer. The itinerary he gave for the summer trip was the one that followed in November.[4]

Johnson's premature April announcement committed the President to go to Texas. Johnson made the curious statement (Fig. 1-1): ". . . the President of the United States is like a pilot and the election is when the nation picks an airplane and a pilot for the next four years.

Once you pick him, and you're flying across the water in bad weather, don't go up and open the door and **try to knock him in the head**. He's the only pilot you have and if the plane goes down, you go with it. **At least wait until next November before you shoot him down.**"[5] Johnson knew that 1963 was not a Presidential election year.

THE DALLAS TIMES HERALD FINAL EDITION

ONE-DAY TEXAS TOUR EYED

LBJ Sees Kennedy Dallas Visit

Continued Cuba Watch Revealed By Vice President

Space Might To Be Ours

Senate Panel May Blister Cuba Intelligence 'Gop'

SCORES DETRACTORS

COMMON DANGER

Dallas Times Herald, April 24, 1963. Partial excerpt is from continuation on page 22A, col. 3.

Fig. 1-1

Scandal

One month before the assassination, in October 1963, Johnson told his friend, Sen.

Thomas Dodd, he felt the Kennedy people were out to ruin him completely by making him look like a "crook" and force him from office.

The key to this alleged conspiracy, as Johnson saw it, was the scandal about his political protege, Robert G. "Bobby" Baker.[6] Baker, secretary to the Democratic majority leader of the Senate, was described as a ". . . close personal friend . . ." of Lyndon Johnson.[7] Furthermore, Baker obtained his position when Johnson was Senate majority leader.[8] The New York Times assessed the significance of the scandal in an editorial of Nov. 20, 1963: "More than the good name of the Senate is involved in the machinations of Senate Aide Robert Baker; at stake is public confidence in all who pass and execute the laws in Washington."

Though Johnson as President tried to say that Baker was ". . . no protégé of anyone . . . [9] the Congressional Record indicated ". . . there was a close personal relationship between the two men. [10] One Senator, in a tribute to Johnson in 1958, said, "I like to refer to Bobby Baker as 'Lyndon, Junior,' an accolade he well deserves." [11]

One source characterized Baker's involvement as ". . . amassing an estimated $2,000,000 operating as Lyndon's lieutenant from the U.S. Capitol itself, and brazenly selling influence and prestige and dealing in many things from dames to banks." [12]

The scandal was substantial enough to make Johnson panic. He later indicated this in early 1964 when he met with House Speaker John W. McCormack. Johnson asserted if Baker talked, then he would ". . . make me the first President of the United States to spend the last days of his life behind bars." [13] Johnson cried, ". . . my whole life is at stake!" [14] Johnson was willing to pay a high price to ensure Baker kept quiet. He asked that Baker be told ". . . I will give him a million dollars if he takes this rap. Bobby must not talk." [15]

According to one Congressman, prior to early October 1963, the Justice Department ". . . had conducted a limited investigation into some aspects of Baker's activities in the Government and in outside business fields."[16] Its purpose was to determine if Baker ". . . was improperly using his position . . . to pile up a fortune . . ." [17] since early October, however,

". . . the Attorney General [Robert F. Kennedy] has pressed forward in a vigorous effort to get to the bottom of the whole Bobby Baker story. Many FBI agents, Internal Revenue agents, and law-enforcement personnel in other agencies are reported co-operating on a coast-to-coast basis in tracing the many facets of Baker's relationship with influential persons in both the legislative and executive branches of Government as well as private business." [18]

At a press conference on Nov. 14, 1963, a week before his Dallas trip, President Kennedy remarked on the Baker case. He said, ". . . Mr. Baker is now being investigated, and I think we will know a great deal more about Mr. Baker before we are through."[19] He added, "Other people may be investigated as times goes on." [20]

Part of the Baker investigation by the Senate involved a probe of the L.B.J. Co., which controlled some $4 million in Texas television and radio stations (acquired while Johnson was in public office). Johnson's wife and daughters held 83 percent of total stock while Johnson had neither stock nor office in the company. [21]

Johnson's interest lies in another area as one congressman noted: ". . . the L.B.J. Co. was spending $7,000 to $12,000 a year for a 'key man' insurance policy for $200,000 on the life of Lyndon B. Johnson." [22] Baker was a Vice President of L.B.J. Co., and arranged the life insurance through Don B. Reynolds.[23] There were strings. According to Reynolds, he as well as other persons who ". . . rendered services to Mr. Johnson, or to the L.B.J. Co., were faced with the same situations of shakedowns as far as getting payment in taking out TV advertising themselves with the radio station "that is ". . . required to purchase television time at the L.B.J. Co." [24] Later, because of Reynolds's willingness to present information to Congress, the Johnson Administration in 1964 made an attempt both to intimidate and to discredit him.[25] Reynolds said he was ". . . told by Baker's law partner to be very careful. You might get hanged."[26]

Reynolds also had information on John Connally. According to Reynolds, Connally went to Washington, D.C., in October 1963 ". . . for the purpose of impressing on Kennedy that he himself would have to travel to Texas and tell people of Texas he had no intention of dumping Johnson."[27]

Furthermore, ". . . the President made the trip to Texas to reassure Texans that rumors floating around of Kennedy's intentions to dump Lyndon B. Johnson as a result of the Baker scandal were unfounded."[28] Connally later stated he was in Washington, D.C., on Oct. 4, 1963, to meet with President Kennedy.[29] After Connally left the meeting, President Kennedy commented to his secretary, "He sure seemed anxious for me to go to Texas."[30]

Reynolds understood that, while in Washington, D.C., Connally made a long-distance call to Oswald at the Dallas YMCA.[31] Oswald checked into the YMCA in Dallas in the late afternoon of Oct. 3 and left in the afternoon of the next day. [32] During October 4-15, Oswald was told to inquire about employment at Dallas firms located along the two likely motorcade routes. That was not the first alleged Connally-Oswald contact.[33] Apparently, Oswald contacted Connally's office on Sept. 25, 1963.[34] Oddly enough, the next day, the President's visit to Dallas was confirmed.[35]

Only a Heart Beat Away

Johnson was seen as having taken the Vice-Presidency in 1960 as a way to become President eight years later when President Kennedy would have to retire.[36] The Vice-Presidency would enable Johnson to become identified as a national leader, instead of a Senator from Texas. Some felt the Vice-Presidency was the one-way Johnson could free himself from the Texas image.[37] Johnson indicated, through friends and aides, he would take the job. Shortly before the Democratic Convention for example, Bobby Baker mentioned to a close Kennedy aide Johnson might be willing to take the Vice-Presidency. Just after Johnson accepted the office, one of his aides commented: "This is what we've been waiting for all this time."[38]

Neither Kennedy nor Johnson had any illusions about the office. Prior to the Democratic Convention in 1960, "Kennedy had let it be known that, if elected President, he would try to knock Johnson off his majority leader perch."[39] Then Sen. Mike Mansfield could replace Johnson as the preferred Senate Majority Leader.[40]

Johnson later said Kennedy tried to ". . . elevate the office any way he could. But it was not the most productive three years I ever had."[41] Johnson complained the Vice-President ". . . has no troops, has no real power."[42] But Johnson's Presidential hopes were dashed when he learned the Baker investigation was continuing and someone else would be on the 1964 ticket. Privately, the President told his secretary, Mrs. Evelyn Lincoln, in 1964 he needed a Vice-President who believed as he did. An announcement of another Vice-President would probably have to wait until the convention. Mrs. Lincoln asked about his choice. The President replied, "At this time I am thinking about Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina. But it will not be Lyndon."[43]

But the Vice-President was not altogether powerless. He was still ". . . but one heart beat away from the most powerful office in the free world . . . while that heart still beats . . ."[44]

Timing

According to the 22nd Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, ". . . no person who has held the office of President . . . for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once." If the President leaves office after two years, then the vice-president can not only complete the remainder of the term, but also run for two more terms.

On January 20, 1963, President Kennedy completed the mid way point of his term. If he left office after that date, Johnson could run for President both in 1964 and 1968, and, if successful, hold office until January 19, 1972.

For the conspirators, January 20, 1963 meant that the plot could be set in motion. The relationship of this date to the activities of the scapegoat was immediate.

In January 1963, Oswald made the final payment to the U.S. State Dept. on his Russia-to-U.S. travel loan.[45] Also in January 1963, he clipped a coupon for a rifle from one magazine[46] and filled-in a coupon for another to order a revolver.[47]

Then, on March 9, the State department mailed him a receipt for his final loan payment.[48] Three days later, Oswald mailed the coupons for the two guns.[49]

From then on, Oswald's travel moves from and to Dallas coincided with media reports about President Kennedy's travel plans to Dallas. The day after Johnson made his speech on April 23 that Kennedy would visit Dallas, Oswald left Dallas for New Orleans.[50] During the period in September when Kennedy's trip to Dallas was reported by the news media,[51] Oswald left New Orleans to return to Dallas[52] and look for work.[53]

Connally Picks the Depository

Johnson's friend, John Connally, placed the scapegoat near the President. Connally determined the route of the motorcade by demanding control of the entire schedule and by demanding that the Trade mart be used for the luncheon in Dallas.[54]

Near the end of October 1963, Presidential aide Kenneth O'Donnell sent a political advance man, Jerry Bruno, to Texas to arrange details of Kennedy's visit.[55]

To Bruno, the Women's Building at the fair grounds—and not the Trade Mart—was ideal. It had a large auditorium with a capacity of 4,000. After lunch, it could be opened up ". . . so the people in Dallas could have come in and heard Kennedy."[56] He felt the Trade Mart not only was enclosed,[57]but also lent ". . . itself to more of a rich people's luncheon . . ."[58]

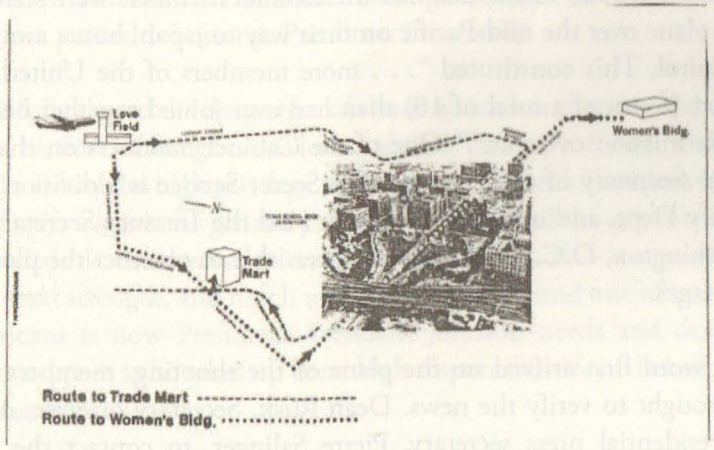
Bruno tried to have the Secret Service veto the Trade Mart because it presented security problems. He asked the head of the Secret Service at the White House, Jerry Behn, to request that Texas agents insist on the Women's Building. "But" said Bruno later, "somehow or other, that word never got through."[59]

Connally had to have the Trade Mart. His excuse was that he wanted tiered seating, which was only possible at the Trade Mart because of its high ceiling.[60]

To get his way, Connally made a deliberate and serious misrepresentation to Bruno. At a meeting, Connally told Bruno what the schedule would be for the President's Texas visit. Bruno replied that he was only interested in suggestions; the White House would decide. Connally ended the conversation by saying, "Fine, fine I'll get back to you." He then told Bruno, "This is what we want him to do," giving the impression that O'Donnell told Connally to make the decision. Much later, and after the assassination, Bruno learned that O'Donnell really told Connally ". . . the White House . . . would make any final decision."[61]

On Nov. 18, 1963, Bruno received a call from O'Donnell.[62] According to O'Donnell, "The Governor felt very strongly about it [the Trade Mart]. And we finally acquiesced to his view."[63]

Why was Connally so emphatic about the Trade Mart? It was crucial to the plot that the President's motorcade be maneuvered to pass in front of the Texas School Book Depository Building (Fig. 1-2).



At this time, the scapegoat had a job there. Had the route been from Love Field to the Women's Building, the motorcade would have been a block away from the depository, forcing cancellation of the assassination.

The time of day was equally as crucial: the assassination had to occur in daylight and while the scapegoat was in the building. Originally, according to O'Donnell, ". . . Dallas . . . was going to be an evening affair."[64] Instead,

"the governor (Connally) thought . . . that we should hit Dallas around noontime."[65]

Shortly after the assassination, Johnson indicated his high regard for Connally: In late December, 1963, a reporter saw President Johnson inscribe the text of a speech to Connally: "John and Nellie, who made all this possible."[66]

Rusk and the Cabinet Plane

The date of the assassination coincided with the third US-Japan Joint Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs to meet in Tokyo on Nov. 25-27[67]. The Japanese Foreign Office announced it on Nov. 8.[68] The trip was first announced in the United States on Aug. 26, 1963.[69] This high-level conference meant that certain Cabinet officers would be absent from Washington, D.C.

On Nov. 22, 1963 more than half the Cabinet members were sealed in a single plane over the mid-Pacific on their way to japan, hours away from the capitol. This constituted ". . . more members of the United States Cabinet (6 out of a total of 10) than had ever joined together before in a single mission overseas."[70] One of the Cabinet members on the plane was the Secretary of the Treasury. The Secret Service is a division of the Treasury Dept. and under its direction. Had the Treasury Secretary been in Washington, D.C., he might have been able to obstruct the plot in its early stages.

When word first arrived on the plane of the shooting, members of the party sought to verify the news. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, ordered the Presidential press secretary, Pierre Salinger, to contact the White House situation room by code on the radiophone. According to Salinger, "Aboard every Presidential jet there is usually a White House code book. We searched for it for about five minutes, but as fate would have it[71] there was none aboard this plane."[72]

Rusk ". . . ordered the plane back to the US and . . . led the others (Cabinet members) . . . through a somber colloquy on the problems that Kennedy's

successor would face. 'There was absolutely no doubt who was in charge at that tragic moment,' said one official who was there."[73]

The cabinet plane turned around and headed back to Hawaii. It touched down one hour and 55 minutes after the original bulletin was received on the plane teletype at 12:38 CST.[74] There, the Commander in Chief of the Pacific told the Cabinet about "some of the terrible details," e.g., ". . . the assassin had used 'a high-powered rifle and a scope' . . ."[75]

The Cabinet was greatly distressed over its impotence and the lack of information. Words like "rumor monger," "treachery," and "hearsay,"[76] were bandied about when the plane landed in Washington, D.C. after an 8 hour and 31 minute flight from Hawaii. Secretary of State Rusk told the cabinet he would lead the official party off the plane; if there was any speaking to be done, he would do it.[77]

Rusk, like Johnson, was to have been replaced in 1964.[78] While the rest of the nation was in a state of shock, Rusk gave a brief tribute to Kennedy, and then praised Johnson as President. He stated,

We've fully shared the deep sense of shock which has swept over the nation today, because of the grievous loss that all of us have suffered. Those of us who have had the high privilege of serving closely with President Kennedy will always cherish the gallantry and the wisdom and the grace with which he carried his awesome and lonely responsibilities. This is a great nation, with great strength, and much unfinished business and one of our greatest Americans is now President. President Johnson needs and desires our fullest support as he takes up these high responsibilities on behalf of all of us Americans.

Chapter One Endnotes:

1. Evelyn Lincoln, Kennedy and Johnson, pp. 205, 183, 191. President Kennedy was asked about these rumors at a press conference in May 1962, and then again at the end of October 1963. (Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1962, p. 380; ibid., 1963, p. 832)
   Tom Wicker observed, ". . . there was talk, that November, of 'dumping' Johnson in 1964." (Tom Wicker, "Lyndon Johnson vs the Ghost of Jack Kennedy," Esquire, November 1965, p. 152.)
   Johnson said in his book, "Reports have been circulating in Washington that I was going to be 'dumped' from the ticket in 1964 . . . I believed these reports to be rumors . . ." (Lyndon B. Johnson, The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency 1963-1969, p. 2)
   William Manchester, in his first version of The Death of a President, stated, "In Texas representatives of the National Committee were repeatedly corned by Johnson and Connally men who would talk of nothing else, and in Houston, U.S. Attorney Woodrow B. Seals, a Kennedy appointee, had told a confidant that LBJ was too deeply involved in the Bobby Baker scandal and that the Attorney General, who despised corruption, would undoubtedly urge his brother to find another Vice President." (Edward J. Epstein, "Manchester Unexpurgated," Commentary, July 1967, p. 27.)
   On the day President Kennedy was killed, the early city edition of the Dallas Morning News headlined on page one of section four: "Nixon Predicts JFK May Drop Johnson." The article said, "Former Vice-President Richard M. Nixon predicted here Thursday that President Kennedy will drop Lyndon Johnson from the No. 2 spot on the Democratic ticket if a close race appears likely next year. Nixon said Johnson is becoming a 'political liability' to the Democratic party." ("Commission Exhibit No. 1975. 'Letter from FBI to Commission dated June 29, 1964, with enclosures, relating to newspaper coverage of proposed Dallas visit of Richard M. Nixon (CD 1189),'" in Hearings before the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy, v. 23, p. 943.

   According to columnist Marianne Means, Robert F. Kennedy and Kenneth P. O'Donnell were involved in an effort to dump Johnson. Apparently they were assisted by those who felt they might have a chance at being Vice-President. One of them, Frankly Roosevelt, Jr., ". . . told an acquaintance one week before the assassination: 'We're going to get Johnson, and then I'll be Vice President.'" (Los Angeles Herald Examiner, Sept. 1, 1966).
   Columnists Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott reported Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg was a potential Vice-Presidential candidate. ". . . President Kennedy discussed frankly two political developments that would cause him to look for a new running mate. One development would be a personal decision by Vice President Lyndon Johnson to boost his political fortunes for 1968 in another government or private role and not seek re-election with President Kennedy. The other development would involve a situation where public opinion polls would indicate a close election and that Johnson's presence on the ticket would not increase the President's chance of winning. . . . the President assured Goldberg that he would seriously consider him as a possible running-mate if either of these political situations developed. Allen and Scott added: "Aides of Johnson insist that the vice president will be on the 1964 ticket regardless of what developments occur before the Democratic conventions opens in Atlantic City in August."
2. U.S. News and World Report, Nov. 4, 1963, p. 22. The rumors may even have been started by Johnson and Connally. Starting and denying rumors apparently was a well-known Connally trait. Connally left Richard M. Nixon as an adviser in 1973 because of dissatisfaction. A reporter noted, "Most of the dissatisfaction rumors were started by Connally himself, and a measure of the man's nerve is that he called a White House press conference to deny them and—while denying them—commented favorably to reporters on the accuracy of their sources." (Los Angeles Times, August 12, 1973, Pt. 7, p. 3)
3. Clifton C. Carter, "Affidavit of Clifton C. Carter [dated May 20, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 7, p. 475. John Connally, "Why Kennedy Went to Texas," Life, Nov. 24, 1967, p. 100A.
4. Dallas Times Herald, April 24, 1963, p. 1.

5. Ibid., p. 22A. This trip planning information was first published by the Authors in Probe, V. 3, NO. 2, May-June 1970, P. 3. Johnson used the same imagery later: "After the Dallas assassination LBJ would say 'I sat in the plane and pictured it more or less as simple as if something happened to the pilot who was flying us back. We were very much in the same shape as if he fell at the controls and one of our boys had to walk up there and bring in the plane . . .'" (Hugh Sidey, A Very Personal Presidency, pp. 30, 31.)
6. Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, The Case Against Congress, p. 84.
7. Congressional Record, 88th Congress, 1st Session, 1963, V. 109, pt. 28, p. A6173.
8. Ibid.
9. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963-64, v. 1, p. 365.
10. Congressional Record, 88th Congress, 2nd Session, 1964, v. 110, pt. 14, p. 19259.
11. Ibid.
12. Frank L. Kluckhohn, The Inside on LBJ, p. 64 (PB).
13. Robert N. Winter-Berger, The Washington Pay-Off: An Insider's View of Correction in Government, p. 63 (PB).
14. Ibid., p. 64.
15. Ibid., p. 66. Baker was convicted in 1967 of attempted tax evasion, grand larceny, transportation of stolen money, and conspiracy (Los Angeles Times, April 28, 1972, p. 1). As he went to prison, Baker said his family would be "without a money problem in the world." (Los Angeles Times, December 23, 1970, p. 1.)
    The Baker affair is conspicuously absent from Johnson's book, The Vantage Point.
16. Congressional Record, 88th Congress, 1st Session, 1963, v. 109, pt. 17, p. 22962.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1963, p. 851.
20. Ibid.
    Medford Evans observed: "Had John Kennedy lived, not only would he have been automatically re-nominated in 1974, but

Lyndon Johnson might well have been, as the inelegant political term has it, 'dumped' for a running made more personable, by Kennedy standards. At noon, November 22, 1963, Lyndon B. Johnson was a politician apparently on the way down and out." (Medford Evans, Coup d'état—November 22, 1963, American Opinion, Sept. 1967, p. 73).

21. Congressional Records, 88th Congress, 1st Session, 1963, v. 109, pt. 239, p. A7500.
22. Ibid. pt. 18, p. 24304.
    Note: "To treat such life insurance premiums as business expenses, it would be necessary for a business firm to demonstrate that it had an insurable interest in the person whose life is being insured . . . life insurance premiums would be deductible from taxable income only if the insured person was a 'key man' who had made such a substantial contribution to the business success that the insurance would be regarded as 'ordinary and necessary business expenses.'" (Congressional Record, 88th Congress, 1st Session, v. 109, pt. 29, p. A7500.)
23. Ibid., pt. 29, p. A7500.
24. Congressional Record, 88th Congress, 2nd Session, 1964, v. 110, pt. 23, p. A2812.
25. Ibid. pp. A2812-2813.
    For example, ". . . LBJ once read raw FBI files to select newsmen in attempting to discredit the insurance man, Don Reynolds, when Johnson feared embarrassment in the Bobby Baker case." (Larry L. King, LBJ Through Watergate-Colored Glasses, New York Times Magazine, August 23, 1974, p. 20.)
26. Ibid., p. A2813
27. "Commission Document No. 350. 'Don S. Reynolds Information Regarding Case Involving Assassination of President John F. Kennedy,'" dated January 24, 1964, p. 2.
28. Ibid.
    Don Reynolds, an insurance agent who had sold life insurance to Vice-President Johnson (Fred Cook, The Corrupted Land, p. 302), was investigated by the FBI regarding a statement attributed to him ". . . that President Lyndon B. Johnson, as well as Governor Connally of Texas, was implicated in the assassination." ("Commission Document No. 350. 'Letter to J. Lee Rankin,

General Counsel,'" dated January 31, 1964, p. 1.) Reynolds was interviewed on January 24, 1964. Probably because of those allegations, Johnson tried to discredit Reynolds. He tried through a Drew Pearson column that claimed Reynolds was unreliable (column of January 31, 1964). Pearson was ". . . distantly related by marriage to . . ." Lyndon Johnson. (Ben H. Bagdikian. The Effete Conspiracy and Other Crimes by the Press, p. 110.)

Pearson crusaded against Don Reynolds, using information apparently from confidential records. "Noting that use of such material must have been authorized at the highest levels in the administration, the Wall Street Journal, the Chicago Daily News and the New Republic charged Pearson with being Johnson's 'axe man' and 'White House mouthpiece.'" (Oliver Pilat, Drew Pearson: An Unauthorized Biography, p. 248.)

Another effort to discredit Reynolds occurred when "Johnson asked the FBI to look into the possibility that Reynolds had been given $25,000 for 'bribery purposes for the Republican Party.' The FBI ran a check but found nothing." (Time, August 27, 1973, p. 16.)

Hoover did not believe Reynolds' allegations about Johnson and Connally so he made no check on the location of Connally on that date ("Commission Document No. 350. 'Letter to J. Lee Rankin.'" op. Cit., p. 2). But Hoover did want Reynolds interviewed about these allegations ". . . to straighten this matter out.' (Ibid., p. 1)

29. Connally, loc. cit.

The day after the assassination, Connally claimed he had gone to Washington, D.C., for the purpose of trying to cancel the Dallas trip (Dallas Morning News, November 23, 1063). In 1967, Johnson's relative and apparent mouthpiece, Drew Pearson, asserted Kennedy initiated the Dallas trip (column of Jan. 10, 1967).

30. Lincoln, op. Cit., p. 197.

31. "Commission Document No. 350. 'Don S. Reynolds Information,'" op. Cit., p. 3.

Hoover claimed, ". . . I have been advised the room in which Lee Harvey Oswald stayed at the Young Men's Christian Association on the night of October 3-4, 1963, did not have a telephone available. Further, no records are maintained by the Young

Men's Christian Association on long-distance calls received and guests are not permitted to make outgoing long-distance calls." ("Commission Document No. 350. 'Letter to J. Lee Rankin,'" op. Cit., p. 2). Hoover made no mention a pay phone might have been available then to receive incoming calls.

32. Richard L. Hulen, "Testimony of Richard LeRoy Hulen [dated April 1, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 10, pp. 281-282, 283.

Exhibit No. 2. "Hand-written list of four 1962 entries and one 1963 entry entitled 'Residence-Lee Oswald,'" in Hearings, v. 20, p. 189.

Exhibit No. 7. "Copy of a receipt given by the Dallas YMCA to Lee Harvey Oswald, indicating that he spent the evening of October 3, 1963, there," in Hearings, v. 20, p. 192.

Colin Barnhorst, "Testimony of Colin Barnhorst [dated April 1, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 10, p. 285.

"Commission Exhibit No. 1144. 'Secret Service Report dated December 12, 1963, concerning residences and employment of Lee Harvey Oswald from the time he returned to Fort Worth from the Soviet Union until November 22, 1963 (CD 87, SS control No. 641, pp. 1-16),'" in Hearings, v. 22, p. 159.

"Commission Exhibit No. 1160. 'FBI report, Dallas, Tex., dated April 13, 1964, concerning rental and utility charges incurred by Oswald in Fort Worth and Dallas, Tex. (CD 840, pp. 104),'" in Hearings, v. 22, p. 207.

Commission Exhibit No. 2127. 'FBI report dated May 7, 1964, concerning two traveling bags believed to have been property of Lee Harvey Oswald (CD 938(b), pp. 1-4),'" in Hearings, v. 24, p. 702.

33. How did Oswald view Connally? According to Oswald's wife, Marina, Oswald wrote Connally from Russia about his service discharge and ". . . asked Connally to help him obtain a good character reference . . ." (Marina Oswald, "Testimony of Mrs. Lee Harvey Oswald Resumed [dated Feb. 5, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 1, p. 72.) In a letter dated Jan. 30, 1962, from Russia, Oswald told his brother, "I wrote a letter to John B. Connally Secretary of the Navy who lives in Ft. Worth asking about my dishonorable discharge may e you could ask him to look into the case since I don't know wheater [sic] the Russians will let that letter through."

("Commission Exhibit No. 314. 'Letter from Lee Harvey Oswald to Robert Oswald, dated January 30 1962, enclosing two photographs, with envelope,'" in Hearings, v. 16, p. 866). Marina said ". . . we received a letter from Connally in which he said that he had turned the matter over to responsible authorities." (Marina Oswald, loc. Cit). She testified Oswald ". . . spoke well of him. It seemed to me that Connally was running for Governor and Lee said that when he would return to the United States he would vote for him." (Ibid.) Oswald wrote his mother on April 22, 19062, and asked: "When will the elections for governor be in Texas?" ("Commission Exhibit No. 197, 'Letter from Lee Harvey Oswald to Marguerite Oswald, dated April 22, with envelope,'" in Hearings, v. 16, p. 576.)

Why would Connally correspond with a known defector to Russia when it could be potentially embarrassing to him politically? This is odd in view of ". . . the passion of his [Connally's] life: anti-communism. . . . The mere thought of communism frightens him." (Ann Fears Crawford and Jack Keever, John B. Connally: Portrait in Power, p. 419.)

34. "Commission Exhibit No. 2137. 'FBI report dated January 6, 1964, at San Antonio, Tex., of efforts to locate persons with knowledge of travel by Oswald on or about September 26 and October 3, 1963 (CD 388, pp. 1-21),'" in Hearings, v. 24, pp. 732-733.
35. "Commission Exhibit No. 1367. 'Kennedy's Texas Visit Confirmed,' Dallas Times Herald, Sept. 26, 1963 (CD 320)," in Hearings, v. 22, p. 619.

    "Commission Exhibit No. 1368. 'Kennedy to Visit Texas Nov. 21-22,' Dallas Morning News, Sept. 26, 1963 (CD 320)," in Hearings, v. 22, p. 620.
36. Stan Optowsky, The Kennedy Government, p, 36 (PB).
37. Roland Evans and Robert Novak, Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power, p. 287.
38. Ibid., pp. 2750276.

    When did Johnson's plans go sour? According to Don Reynolds, ". . . Baker stated while referring to the swearing in of Kennedy, words to the effect that the s.o.b. is being sworn in but he will never live his term out. He will die a violent death." (Commission Document No. 350, op. Cit., p. 1.)
39. Time, July 18, 1960, p. 11.
40. Kenneth O'Donnell, LBJ and the Kennedys, Life, Aug. 7, 1970, p. 47.
41. Walter Cronkite, LBJ Talks Politics, CBS News, Jan. 27, 1972.
42. Ibid.
43. Lincoln, op. Cit., pp. 204-205.
44. James M. Burns and Jack W. Peltason, Government by the People, p. 444.
45. Abranm J. Chayes, "Testimony of Abram Chayes (dated June 9, 1964), in Hearings, v. 5, p. 316.

    "Commission Exhibit No. 778. 'Two letters to Department of Sate, signed Lee H. Oswald.'" in Hearings, v. 17, pp. 646.

    "Commission Exhibit No. 950. 'Report of the Department of State on Lee Harvey Oswald, submitted to the Commission in January 1964," in Hearings, v. 18, pp. 277, 316.

    "Commission Exhibit No. 1120. 'Record of repayment of repatriation loan by Lee Harvey Oswald (CD 1114, XII-22 (40).'" in Hearings, v. 22, p. 86.

    "Commission Exhibit No. 2779. 'Letters from Oswald to Sate Department, regarding repaying his loan (CD 1114, XII-16 to 20).'" in Hearings, v. 26, p. 163.
46. William J. Waldman, "Testimony of William J. Waldman (dated May 20, 1964)," in Hearings, v. 7. P. 367.
47. "Commission Exhibit No. 3088. 'FBI report dated November 30, 1963 of interview of H.W. Michaelis at Los Angeles, Calif. (CD 7, pp. 229-230).'" In Hearings, v. 26, p. 700.
48. "Commission Exhibit No. 2003. 'Dallas Police Department file on investigation of the assassination of the President (CD 81b, all pages),'" in Hearings, v. 24, p. 342.
49. Harry D. Holmes, "Testimony of Harry D. Holmes (dated April 2, 1964)," in Hearings, v. 7 p. 295.

    Waldman, op. cit., v. 7, p. 366.

    "Commission Exhibit No. 773. 'Photograph of a mail order for a rifle in the name "A. Hidell," and the envelope in which the order was sent,'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 635.

"Commission Exhibit No. 788. 'U.S. postal money order, in the amount of $21.45 dated March 12, 1963, which accompanied the mail order in Commission Exhibit No. 773,'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 677.

"Commission Exhibit No. 1136. 'FBI report dated November 26, 1963, concerning money order signed by A. Hidell and payable to Klein's Sporting Goods (CD 7, p. 194),'" in Hearings, v. 22, p. 115.

"Commission Exhibit No. 1799. 'Memorandum entitled "Assistance rendered by the Postal Inspection Service in investigation of President Kennedy's assassination" (CD 296, pp. 1-5) v. 23, p. 419.

"Commission Exhibit No. 2562. 'Letter dated April 30, 1964, from FBI to Commission transmitting report dated April 22, 1964, relating to C 2766 rifle (CD 881, pp. 1-20),' "in Hearings, v. 25, p. 806.

"Commission Exhibit No. 135. 'Mail-order coupon in name A.J. Hidell,'" in Hearings, v. 16, p. 511.

"Commission Exhibit No. 1137. 'FBI report dated November 30, 1963, of interview of H.W. Michaelis, office manager, George Rose & Co., Los Angeles, Calif. (CD 7, pp. 229-230),'" in Hearings, v. 22, p. 116.

"Commission Exhibit No. 3088," loc. cit.

50. Report of the Presidential Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, p. 725.
51. "Commission Exhibit No. 1366. '"President to Visit Dallas, 3 other Texas Cities Soon," Dallas Times Herald, September 13, 1963 (CD 320),'" in Hearings, v. 22, p. 618.

"Commission Exhibit No. 1367," loc. cit.

"Commission Exhibit No. 1368," loc. cit.

New York Times, September 27, 1963, p. 12
52. Report of the President's Commission, pp. 729-731, 736.
53. Ibid., p. 737.
54. Jerry Bruno and Jeff Greenfield, The Advance Man, pp. 88, 92 (PB).
55. Ibid., p. 88 (PB)
56. Ibid., p. 89 (PB)
57. Ibid., p. 90 (PB)

58. Art Kevin, "Interview with former Kennedy political advance man, Jerry Bruno," KHJ News, June 23, 1971.
59. Bruno and Greenfield, op. cit., p. 91 (PB).

According to Youngblood, three sites were considered: ". . . the Trade mart, Market Hall, and the Women's Building . . . Market Hall, directly across . . . from the Trade mart, was not available, thus narrowing the choice to two." He characterized the Trade Mart as posing ". . . considerable security problems . . ." while the Women's Building "was ideal from a security point of view . . ." But the latter "was an unattractive place . . ." Without further explanation, Youngblood stated ". . . although the easy security of the Fair Grounds [Women's] Building would have simplified Secret Service problems during the luncheon, it was agreed that the Trade Mart would be recommended." (Rufus W. Youngblood, 20 Years in the Secret Service, pp. 98-99.)

60. Ibid., p. 90 (PB).
61. Ibid., pp. 88-89 (PB).
62. Ibid., p. 92 (PB).
63. Kenneth P. O'Donnell, "Testimony of Kenneth P. O'Donnell [dated May 18, 1964]." In Hearings, v. 7, p. 443.

Secret Service agent Winston G. Lawson claimed it was Jerry Bruno's decision to hold the luncheon in the Trade Mart (Samuel A. Stern and John H. Fly, Memorandum of interview with Lawson, dated March 31, 1964, p. 2). This is contradicted by Bruno's account (The Advance Man, pp. 89-92). It is also inconsistent with White House advance man Jack Puterbaugh's recollection. Puterbaugh recalled he had no part in the selection of the site for the luncheon (Larry Haapanen, interview with Jack L. Puterbaugh, dated Sept. 5, 1970.). Chief James J. Rowley, however, asserted that Puterbaugh told Lawson on Nov. 14 1963, ". . . that the luncheon would be held at the Trade mart." (James J. Rowley, "Commission Exhibit No. 1022, 'Letter from the Secret Service to the Commission, dated March 26, 1964,' "in Hearings, v. 18, p. 715.).

64. Ibid., p. 442.
65. Ibid.
66. Ronnie Dugger, "John Connally: Nixon's New Quarterback, "The Atlantic Monthly, July 1971, p. 90.

67. Embassy of Japan (U.S.) Japan Report, v. 9, no. 21, Nov. 20, 1963, p. 2.
68. New York Times, Aug. 27, 1963, p. 3.
69. Japan Report, loc. cit.
70. Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1964. P. 19 (PB).
During a press interview on March 15, 1964, Lyndon Johnson said that he did not want this to happen again: "But immediately upon returning to Washington, I made it clear to the Cabinet that we didn't want any goodly number like that leaving town at the same time, and that when the President and the next in line of succession were out of town, that we wanted most of the Cabinet here. And the President since that time has not been out of town with any appreciable number of Cabinet officers absent." (Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963-1964, v. 1, p. 362.)
". . . the President (Johnson) rarely made a final firm decision on travel away from the White House until he was completely satisfied he could go . . . He said he would . . . base such decisions . . . on his own determination of when he should or should not travel." (George Christian, The President Steps Down, p. 20)
71. The line "but as fate would have it" was deleted from Salinger's book.
72. Pierre Salinger, "With Kennedy," Good Housekeeping, August 1966, p. 61.
73. Time Dec. 6, 1963, p. 26.
74. Salinger, op. cit., p. 62.
75. William Manchester, The Death of a President, p. 407 (PB).
76. Jim Bishop, The Day Kennedy Was Shot, p. 264.
77. Ibid., p. 474.
78. Henry Trewhitt, McNamara: His Ordeal in the Pentagon, pp. 253, 254.
Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House, p. 927 (PB).
In Sorenson's book on Kennedy, "there has . . . been excised . . . a private remark of Mr. Kennedy's . . . that the President would have begun his second term with a new Secretary of State." (Murray

Kempton, "Sorenson's Kennedy," The Atlantic Monthly, October 1965, p. 72.)
According to John Kenneth Galbraith, the "automatic anti-communism of the old foreign policy establishment" was "the principal reason President Kennedy did not intend to continue Dean Rusk as Secretary." Galbraith observed, "The problem was not the doctrine but how to deal with it in a bureaucracy and country that had been so dangerously over-sold on the simplicities of the Cold War. Lyndon Johnson bought both the advisers and the doctrine." (John K. Galbraith, "Seeing Things Through JFK," Saturday Review, Nov. 6, 1971, p. 41.)
Halberstam wrote that Kennedy ". . . was bothered by his (Rusk's) over-dependence on the system. But he never felt at ease with Rusk, and in the last part of the Kennedy Administration both John and Robert Kennedy were talking with intimates about the possibility of a new Secretary of State." (David Halberstam, "Lyndon," Esquire, August 1972, p. 88.)
According to Milton Viorst, "With certainty, it can be said that he (Rusk) had lost Kennedy's confidence. There is some indication that Rusk contemplated resignation, and there is persuasive testimony that Kennedy was preparing for his graceful departure after the 1964 election." (Milton Viorst, "Incidentally, Who is Dean Rusk?" Esquire, April 1968, p. 179.)
". . . President Kennedy became so annoyed by Rusk's habit of playing his cards so close to his chest that not even the President could see them, that he planned to replace Rusk in his second term, probably with Robert McNamara." (Stewart Alsop, The Center, p. 122.)
Viorst quoted a friend of Johnson as saying, "Lyndon Johnson . . . showed a great deal of respect for Rusk's judgement from the very beginning . . . Besides, the President saw Rusk as the outcast of the Kennedy Cabinet. He knew a kindred spirit when he saw one. Both had been kicked around by the Arthur Schlesingers and the Dick Goodwins of the world. The President saw Rusk as wounded and he came to his support. Rusk never forgot that. Rusk Immediately acquired a feeling of belonging he never had with Kennedy . . . With Rusk there is no hedging. His devotion to Johnson is total." (Viorst, ibid., pp. 179-180.)

Even later in his administration, ". . . Johnson's faith in Rusk never wavered. He listened to . . . others who sometimes differed with Rusk on specifics, and he might blend these views into a decision; but mainly it was Rusk's judgement he wanted in the end, and Rusk's judgement he followed," (George Christian, The President Steps Down, p. 115)

Chapter Two

Prelude to Murder

How the Motorcade Was Managed

To ensure success, certain members of the Secret Service made preparations. These included controlling the order and position of the vehicles in the motorcade to restrict press observation and to limit witnesses in Dealey Plaza, the final part of the parade where the murder would occur.

Motorcade Control

Shortly before Air Force One landed with the Kennedy party at Love Field in Dallas, on Nov. 22, 1963, Secret Service agents lined up the motorcade with rented automobiles and buses.[1] On the windshield of each vehicle, they taped a 3 x 5-inch white card with a single black number. The vehicles were numbered from 1 to 20 to indicate their positions; the Presidential limousine was number seven. (Fig. 2-1)

As the motorcade left Love Field, the vehicles were out of numerical order. [2] Because of the actual order, photographers and the press ". . . had a very, very poor view of the President's car at any time from the time the parade started." [3]

The Secret Service placed the national press, which is usually closest to the President, at the rear of the motorcade. Normally, the press is close to the President to film him and the crowd's reaction. Denied access near the

limousine, most news media were on a press bus that reached the scene of the shooting too late.[4]

Throughout the Texas trip, the Secret Service permitted the local press to work close to the President, [5] presuming it, the local media, was more subject to influence. But even the local media had trouble finding out what had happened after the shooting. [6]

Beyond Secret Service control was the possibility the President could order changes in the motorcade at any moment. He asked his two special assistants, Kenneth P. O'Donnell and David F. Powers, to ride in the Secret Service follow-up car behind the limousine to gauge the enthusiasm of the Texas crowds. [7] They occupied the jump seats in the center of the car.[8] Other changes the President made, e.g., stopping the parade briefly to shake hands, [9] were minor, except one.

Because the President wished to give the appearance of harmony within the Democratic party, he told his aides to make sure Sen. Ralph W.

Yarborough rode next to his political foe, Lyndon B. Johnson. [10] As a result, Yarborough sat in the Vice-President's car, two cars behind the Presidential limousine. [11] Later, his description of the assassination to the news media was very damaging to the plot.

The wives presented another problem for the Secret Service.

Mrs. Kennedy's presence in the motorcade was unplanned. [12] Because she came to Dallas, so did her bodyguards, Clinton J. Hill and Paul F.

Landis, Jr. [13] In addition, the others in the motorcade brought their wives. Without Mrs. Kennedy and the Governor's wife, Nellie Connally, the murder could have been simpler. The target would have been easier with fewer witnesses.

Communications Control

The press pool car was the fifth automobile behind the Presidential limousine. [14] The car was owned by the telephone company and driven

by an employee. Its media passengers included: Merriman Smith, a UPI White House reporter, and an assistant presidential press secretary in the front seat; in the back seat, an ABC reporter, an AP White House reporter, and a Dallas Morning News White House reporter. [15]

The information from this car contributed to the success of the assassination. The car had a radiophone linked to the wire service desks in downtown Dallas. There teletype operators would flash reports to the worldwide networks of UPI and AP, which included all major newspapers, television, and radio stations. The man in the center of the front seat, Smith, was directly opposite the radiophone. He grabbed the phone at the first shot and controlled the information from the car. His report dominated the wire services in the first 10 minutes after the assassination because he refused to surrender the phone to any of the other reporters.

Motorcycle Escort

The original plan by the Dallas Police Department—overruled by the Secret Service—required eight motorcycle officers to ride with the Presidential limousine, four on each side. [16]

About two days before the President arrived in Dallas, an officer of the Dallas Police Department assigned to traffic control was told by his superiors that officers would ride beside the Presidential limousine. [17] Yet, in the early evening of Nov. 21, a Secret Service agent changed this plan during a meeting with police officials. [18] Two officers originally assigned to ride beside the Presidential limousine received orders at Love Field, just after the President arrived, ". . . there wouldn't be anybody riding beside the President's car." [19] They were placed further back in the motorcade and, at the time of the shooting, were a block away from the limousine.[20]

The Secret Service ordered the four motorcycle officers who did escort the limousine not to ride next to it, but to drop back slightly to the rear. [21] One of the four officers said at morning muster they were ordered not to leave their positions, "regardless of what happened." [21]

Crowd Control

(Fig. 2-1). Cars out of order in motorcade. Presidential Limo #7 was ahead of Mayor and Congressional cars #2 and #3.

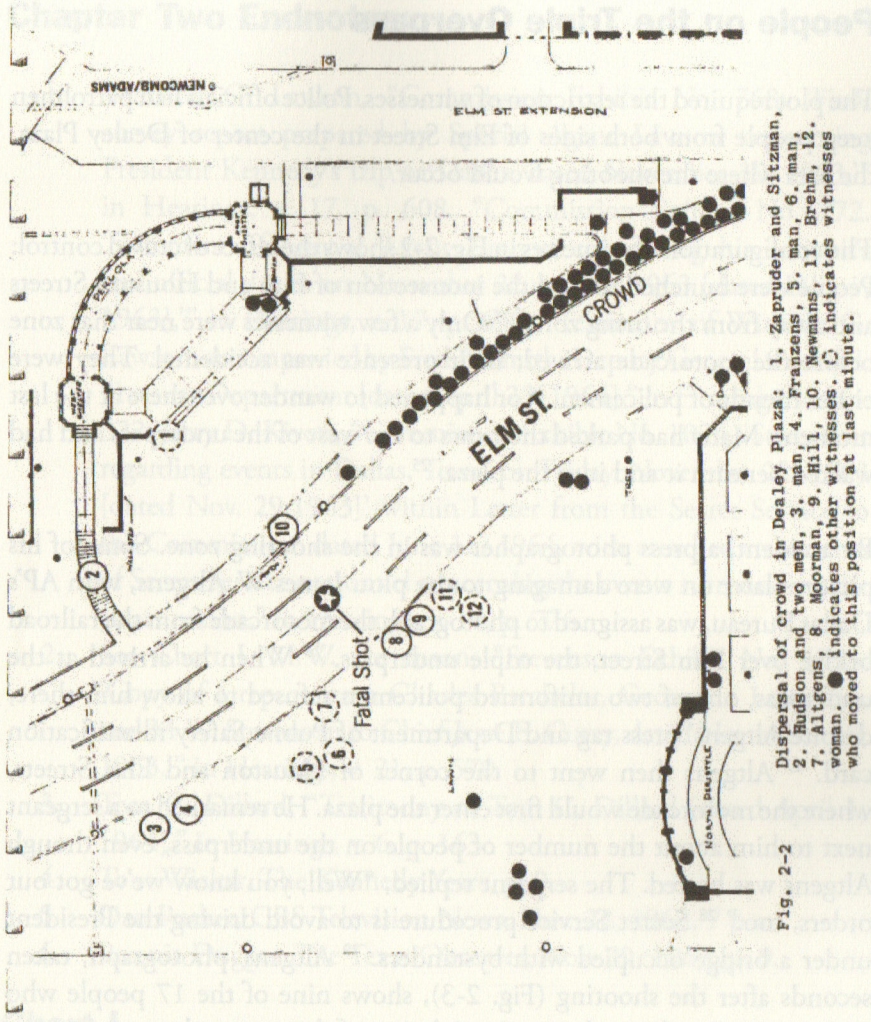

NEWCOMB/ADAMS
ELM ST EXTENSION
CROWD
ELM ST.
Fatal Shot
Dispersal of crowd in Dealey Plaza: 1. Zapruder and Sitzman, 2. Hudson and two men, 3. man, 4. Franzens, 5. man, 6. man, 7. Altgens, 8. Moorman, 9. Hill, 10. Newmans, 11. Brehm, 12. woman. ● indicates other witnesses. ◌ indicates witnesses who moved to this position at last minute.

Fig. 2-2

(Fig. 2-2). Dispersal of crowd in Dealey Plaza: (1) Zapruder and Sitzman (2) Hudson and two men (3) Man (4) Franzens (5) Man (6) Man (7) Altgens (8) Moorman (9) Hill (10) Newmans (11) Brehm (12) Woman. Solid dot indicates other witnesses. Broken circle indicates witnesses who moved to this position at the last minute.

People on the Triple Overpass

The plot required the restriction of witnesses. Police officials had patrolmen keep people from both sides of Elm Street in the center of Dealey Plaza, the area where the shooting would occur.

The configuration of witnesses in Fig. 2-2 shows the effect of crowd control: People were bunched toward the intersection of Elm and Houston Streets and away from the firing zone. [23] Only a few witnesses were near that zone before the motorcade arrived; their presence was accidental. They were either friends of policemen, [24] or happened to wander over there at the last moment. Many had parked their cars to the west of the underpass and had walked beneath it and into the plaza. [25]

By accident, a press photographer was in the shooting zone. Some of his pictures later on were damaging to the plot. James W. Altgens, with AP's Dallas Bureau, was assigned to photograph the motorcade from the railroad bridge over Elm Street, the triple underpass. [26] When he arrived at the underpass, one of two uniformed policemen refused to allow him there, despite Altgens' press tag and Department of Public Safety identification card. [27] Altgens then went to the corner of Houston and Elm Streets, where the motorcade would first enter the plaza. He remarked to a sergeant next to him about the number of people on the underpass, even though Altgens was barred. The sergeant replied, "Well, you know we've got our orders, too." [28] Secret Service procedure is to avoid driving the President under a bridge occupied with bystanders. [29] Altgens' photograph, taken seconds after the shooting (Fig. 2-3), shows nine of the 17 people who were present on the underpass in violation of these procedures.

Chapter Two Endnotes:

1. Winston G. Lawson, "Commission Exhibit No. 768. 'Final survey report prepared by Special Agent Lawson concerning President Kennedy's trip to Dallas, dated November 30, 1963,'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 608. "Commission Exhibit No. 772. 'Statement of Special Agent Lawson concerning his activities and official duties on November 22 and 23, 1963 [dated Dec. 1, 1963],'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 630. "Testimony of Winston G. Lawson, accompanied by Fred B. Smith, Deputy General Counsel, Treasury Department [dated April 23, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 4, p. 322. Jerry D. Kivett, "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. 'Statement regarding events in Dallas, Texas, on Friday, November 22, 1963 [dated Nov. 29,1963]' within Letter from the Secret Service to the Commission, dated June 11, 1964, with attached statements of Secret Service personnel concerning the events surrounding the assassination," in Hearings, v. 18, p. 776.
2. See Chart I. M.W. Stevenson, "Stevenson Exhibit No. 5053. 'Copy of a report from Charles Batchelor, George L. Lumpkin, and M.W. Stevenson to Chief Jesse E. Curry, dated November 30, 1963,'" in Hearings, v. 21, p. 570.
3. Tom C. Dillard, "Testimony of Tom C. Dillard [dated April 1, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 163.
4. Tom Wicker, The Kennedy Years, p. 9.
5. Dan Rather, CBS Television News, Nov. 22, 1963, 7 p.m.
6. Ronnie Dugger, The Texas Observer, Nov. 29, 1963, p. 9.

Chart I.

Position of Vehicles and Persons in Motorcade
(Numbers in brackets indicate original order)
Key to symbols: (USA)—U.S. Army
F—front seat (A)—Presidential Aide
B—back seat (VPA)—Vice-Presidential Aide
R—right (AFA)—Air Force Aide
L—left (SS)—Secret Service
C—center (THP)—Texas Highway Patrol
JS—jump seat (MC)—Member Congress

RB—running board (S)—U.S. Senator
(DPD)—Dallas Police Dept. (P)—Press

1. Advance Car: Capt. P. W. Lawrence (DPD), driver
2. Pilot Car:
   Deputy Chief G.L. Lumpkin (DPD) F-L
   Detective F.M. Turner (DPD) F-R
   Detective B.L. Senkel (DPD) B-L
   Lt. Col. G.L. Whitmeyer (USA) B-C
   J.L. Puterbaugh (A) B-R
3. Lead Motorcycle Squad:
   F.D. Brewer (DPD)

Chart I. Motorcade positions

   S.Q. Bellah (DPD)
   J.B. Carrick (DPD)
   G.G. McBride (DPD)
   S. Ellis (DPD)
   L.F. Gray (DPD)
   W.G. Lumpkin (DPD)
   H.R. Freeman (DPD)
4. Lead Car:
   Chief J.E. Curry (DPD), driver F-L
   W.G. Lawson (SS) F-R
   Sheriff J.E. Decker B-L
   F.V. Sorrels (SS) B-R
5. [7] Presidential Limousine:
   W.R. Greer (SS), driver F-L
   R.H. Kellerman (SS) F-R
   N. Connally JS-L
   J.B. Connally Jr JS-R
   J.B. Kennedy B-L
   Pres. J.F. Kennedy B-R
6. Motorcycle Escort:
   J.B. Martin (DPD) L-outboard
   B.W. Hargis (DPD) L-inboard
   J. M. Chaney (DPD) R-inboard

   D.L. Jackson (DPD) R-outboard
7. Secret Service Follow-Up Car:
   S.A. Kinney (SS), driver F-L
   E.P. Roberts (SS) F-R
   K.P. O'Donnell (A) JS-L
   D.F. Powers (A) JS-R
   G.W. Hickey Jr (SS) B-L
   G.A. Bennett (SS) B-R
   C.J. Hill (SS) RB-L-F
   W.T. McIntyre (SS) RB-L-B
   J.D. Ready (SS) RB-R-F
   P.F. Landis Jr (SS) RB-R-B
8. Vice-President's Car:
   H. Jacks (THP), driver F-L
   R.W. Youngblood (SS) F-R
   R.W. Yarborough (S) B-L
   C.A. Johnson B-C
   Vice-Pres. L.B. Johnson B-R
9. Vice-President's Secret Service Car:
   J.H. Rich (THP), driver F-L
   C.C. Carter (VPA) F-C
   J.D. Kivett (SS) F-R
   W.W. Taylor (SS) B-L
   T.L. Johns (SS) B-R
10. [1] Mayor's Car:
   M.T. Wright (THP), driver F-L
   Mayor E. Cabell F-R
   E. Cabell B-L
   R. Roberts (MC) B-R
11. Motorcycle Escort:
   C.A. Haygood (DPD)
   H.B. McLain (DPD)
12. Press Pool Car:
   Telephone Co. employee, driver F-L
   M. Smith (P) F-C
   M. Kilduff (A) F-R
   R. Baskin (P) B-L
   J. Bell (P) B-C

R. Clark (P) B-R
13. Local Press Car: driver F-L
J.R. Underwood (P)
R.H. Jackson (P)
T.C. Dillard (P)
J. Darnell (P)
M.O. Couch (P)
14. Motorcycle Escort:
J.W. Courson (DPD) L
M.L. Baker (DPD)
15. National Press Car:
D. Wigman (P)
J. Hoefan (P)
16. [2] Congressional Car:
W. Rogers (MC)
A. Thomas (MC)
H. Thornberry (MC)
G.H. Mahon (MC)
L.F. O'Brien (A)
17. VIP Car:
Maj. Gen. G. McHugh (AFA)
Maj. Gen. T. Clifton (USA)(A)
18. [3] Congressional Car:
L. Beckworth (MC)
O. Teague (MC)
J. Brooks (MC)
J. Wright (MC)
19. White House Press Bus:
C. Roberts (P)
R. Pierpoint (P)
R. Dugger (P)
T. Wicker (P)
R. McNeil (P)
H. Sidey (P) and others
20. Official Party Bus:
E. Lincoln (A)
Adm. G.G. Burkley (A) and others

21. Press Bus:
S. Kantor (P) and others
22. U.S.A. Signal Corps Car:
A. Bales (USA)
I.D. Gearhart (USA) and others
23. Western Union Car
24. Extra Car.
25. Extra Car.
26. Rear Police Car: L.S. Davenport (DPD)

7. David F. Powers in "JFK—A Time To Remember," ABC-TV, Nov. 21, 1973.
8. O'Donnell, op. cit., v. 7, p. 446.
David F. Powers, "Affidavit of David F. Powers [dated May 18, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 7, p. 473.
Manchester, op. cit., p. 152 (PB).
9. Jacqueline Kennedy, "Testimony of Mrs. John F. Kennedy [dated June 5, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 5, p. 179.
Youngblood noted two unscheduled, brief stops made by the President during the motorcade. However, ". . . even with these two stops we were now only five minutes behind schedule. I passed the information back to LBJ, who was always interested in such matters." (Youngblood, 20 Years in the Secret Service, p. 110.)
10. Manchester, op. cit., p. 138 (PB).
11. Ralph W. Yarborough, "Affidavit of Ralph W. Yarborough [dated July 10, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 7, p. 439.
Lawrence F. O'Brien, "Testimony of Lawrence F. O'Brien [dated May 26, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 7, pp. 461, 462.
Manchester, op. cit., p. 150 (PB).
12. On Aug. 7, 1963, Jacqueline Kennedy gave birth prematurely to Patrick B. Kennedy. The baby was due later in August as was the first Texas trip.
The first tentative date for the trip to Dallas was Aug. 27, Lyndon Johnson's birthday (Clifton C. Carter, loc. cit.). At that time, she would have been occupied with a new child; this would also have been true for November.
Patrick Kennedy died two days after his birth.

Although she was to rest until Jan. 1, 1964, Mrs. Kennedy's obstetrician felt she had recovered by mid-October (Manchester, op. cit., p. 9). She told the President she would go with him to Texas.

Because of this, the other wives had to be included in the motorcade.

Once a complicated plot is set in motion, communication problems make it too hazardous to stop.

13. Clinton J. Hill, "Testimony of Clinton J. Hill [dated March 9, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 2, p. 133.
Winston G. Lawson, "Commission Exhibit No. 767. 'Attachment 4. Instructions to agents' within Preliminary Survey Report prepared by Special Agent Lawson of the Secret Service concerning President Kennedy's trip to Dallas dated November 19, 1963," in Hearings, v. 17, p. 597.
14. Winston G. Lawson, "Commission Exhibit No. 768. 'Attachment no. 3, scheduled motorcade list' within Final Survey . . ." in Hearings, v. 17, p. 615.
15. Manchester, op. cit., p. 152 (PB).
Note: Assistant Presidential Press Secretary Malcolm Kilduff; ABC reporter Robert Clark; AP White House reporter Jack Bell; Robert Baskin, Dallas Morning News White House reporter.
16. Jesse E. Curry, "Testimony of Jesse Edward Curry [dated April 22, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 4, p. 171.
Perdue W. Lawrence, "Lawrence Exhibit No. 2. 'Copy of personnel assignments for the Presidential motorcade made by Perdue W. Lawrence, dated November 21, 1963,'" in Hearings, v. 20, p. 489.
17. Perdue W. Lawrence, "Testimony of Perdue William Lawrence [dated July 24, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 7, p. 579.
18. Ibid., v. 7, pp. 580, 581.
M.W. Stevenson, op. cit., v. 21, p. 571.
19. Curry, in an interview with the authors, noted the Secret Service changed orders.
Marrion L. Baker, "Testimony of Marrion L. Baker [dated March 25, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 3, p. 244.

Curry learned of the motorcade route from Secret Service agents Lawson and Sorrels on Nov. 21, 1963, the day before the President arrived in Dallas (Commission Document No. 5, p. 4).

20. Baker, op. cit., v. 3, p. 245.
21. Curry, op. cit., v. 4, p. 171.
Note: In past parades, police had their own follow-up car behind the Presidential limousine. The Secret Service prohibited this (Ibid).
22. Interview with Billy J. Martin.
23. Robert MacNeil, NBC Television News, Nov. 22, 1963, 2:05 p.m., CST.
24. Interview with Jean L. Hill.
25. These included (see Fig. 2-1): the Franzens (4), two men (5) (6), and the Newmans (10).
26. James W. Altgens, "Testimony of James W. Altgens [dated July 22, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 7, p. 516.
27. Ibid. The officer told Altgens the underpass was private property and only railroad employees were allowed there. The underpass, which opened in 1936, was acquired by the City of Dallas and was owned by the public, not the Union Terminal Company ("Commission Exhibit No. 877.
'Document on historical background and physical description of Dealey Plaza, Dallas,'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 897).
28. Ibid., v. 7, p. 524.
29. William R. Greer, "Testimony of William Robert Greer, Special Agent, Secret Service [dated March 9, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 2, pp. 130-131. Greer, the limousine driver, claimed only a police officer may have been on the underpass (ibid., pp. 119, 130). Manchester, op. cit., p. 154 (PB). Stevenson, op. cit., v. 21, p. 564.

Chapter Three

Execution

How a small select group within the Secret Service killed the President

The Presidential limousine turned right onto Houston Street. Some five feet to its rear was a carload of Secret Service agents in a bulletproof convertible. Next came a gray automobile with the Vice-President. Behind this was a fourth car, the Vice-President's Secret Service follow-up vehicle.

While these cars traveled the short block on Houston Street toward the Texas School Book Depository building, the left and right rear doors of the Vice-President's follow-up car swung partially open (Fig. 3-2). Those doors stayed open as the Presidential limousine ahead of it turned from Houston Street onto Elm Street, in front of the depository.

The President could be easily seen in his open limousine. Seated on the right in the back, Kennedy waved to a friendly reception from the small crowd lining the sidewalk to his right and the grassy plaza on his left. This was the parade's end.

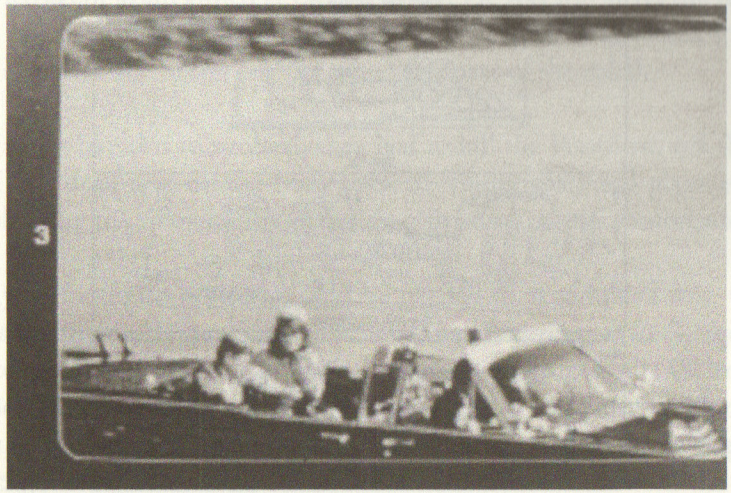
A gap of about two-car lengths began to grow between the President's follow-up car and the Vice-President's car until it spanned nearly a half-block. And by now, the President's seat was purposely elevated almost a foot.

Just before a freeway sign, the driver began to slow down the Presidential limousine. Suddenly, a shot came from the top of Elm Street, now a half-block in back of the President. A Secret Service agent in the Vice-President's follow-up car had raised his left hand out of the partly open left, rear door window. A revolver was fired skyward.

The crowd's attention was distracted from the Presidential limousine by the sudden explosion.

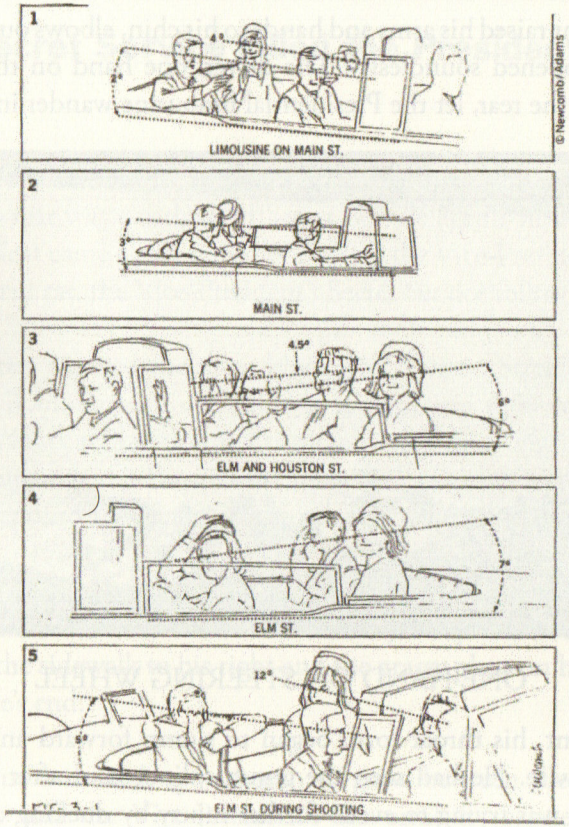
As if in response to this shot in front of the depository, a Secret Service agent in the front seat of the Presidential limousine fired his revolver directly at the President, striking him in the throat—a serious non-fatal wound. A breeze swept the gun smoke and its distinctive odor back up the street.

The President raised his arms and hands to his chin, elbows out defensively, his mouth opened soundlessly. The driver, one hand on the wheel, his attention to the rear, let the Presidential limousine wander in the road.



ONE HAND ON STEERING WHEEL

The President, his throat torn, began to slump forward and to his left, toward his wife. He had seen the gun a split-second after he had been hit. Now he was trying to evade further injury by ducking down behind the jump seat in front of him. His back brace underneath his clothing prevented him from moving quickly.



[FIGURE 3-2] The rear doors of the Vice-President's follow-up car swing partially open.

Texas Governor John Connally, sitting in the jump seat immediately in front of the President, was looking to his right when the revolver fired ahead of him. Startled, he looked to the front and raised his hands, then turned away from the muzzle, raising his left shoulder up to his ear. He continued to turn to his right until he faced the slumping President.

The governor apparently panicked, and began screaming: "No, no, no, no, no! They're going to kill us both!"[1] Fearing the governor was about to summon his motorcycle police, or worse, exit the car exposing the plot to scores of witnesses, the Secret Service agent fired into Connally's back. The Governor recoiled to the right side of the limousine, away from his wife. Blood stained the front of his shirt; he was seriously wounded.

The Presidential limousine continued slowly down Elm Street toward a glassy slope where three men stood. One of them yelled to the others, "Lay down, Mister, somebody is shooting at the President."[2] A man filming the assassination felt somebody had ganged up on the President.[3]The Secret Service agent again aimed at the President. He was still alive; the first shot had not been fatal. This was an extremely dangerous situation for those few agents in the Secret Service who were part of the cabal.

For a plot like this to succeed, they had to kill the President, tell the press JFK was dead and fly the body back to Washington and plant evidence implicating the rifleman in the building overlooking the motorcade route.

Only half a dozen plotters would be needed to accomplish this. (1) The assassin driving the presidential limousine, (2) the agent in charge of the motorcade who was riding in the passenger seat up front, (3) someone to deliver the decoy shot fired from the third car behind (which drew all eyes to the rear where the "rifleman" had his perch (it would happen so quickly; any witness would think the President was shot from the rear).

Of course, any autopsy performed in Dallas would expose this plot. Why the plot was not uncovered in Dallas is another matter involving raw government power. A woman in the plaza close to the limousine yelled to her friend next to her, "Get down, they're shooting."[4]

The agent fired. A bullet pierced the President above the left forehead and exited from the right rear portion of his head. The President slammed back against the rear cushion and rebounded forward to the seat.

A bystander, on the grass by the limousine, thought ". . . it was Secret Service agents shooting back. To me, if somebody shoots at somebody they always shoot back . . ."[5] Mrs. Kennedy rose as the President's blood spilled on her skirt and stockings: "Oh, my God, they've killed my husband." From the back seat, she crawled onto the trunk on her hands and knees in an attempt to escape.

Though severely wounded, Gov. Connally managed to pull himself up behind the front seat.

Moments before, seeing the danger, Mrs. Kennedy's personal guard had jumped from the running board of the President's follow-up car and was running toward the slow-moving limousine. The limousine came to a virtual halt. The limousine started again, and Mrs. Kennedy's bodyguard boarded its rear platform and helped her back into her seat. The limousine sped for the hospital.

During the shooting, people near the limousine recoiled from it, fell down and tried to take cover; none did so by the depository building up the street. After the shooting, the crowd ran down toward the limousine; none congregated around the depository and looked up.

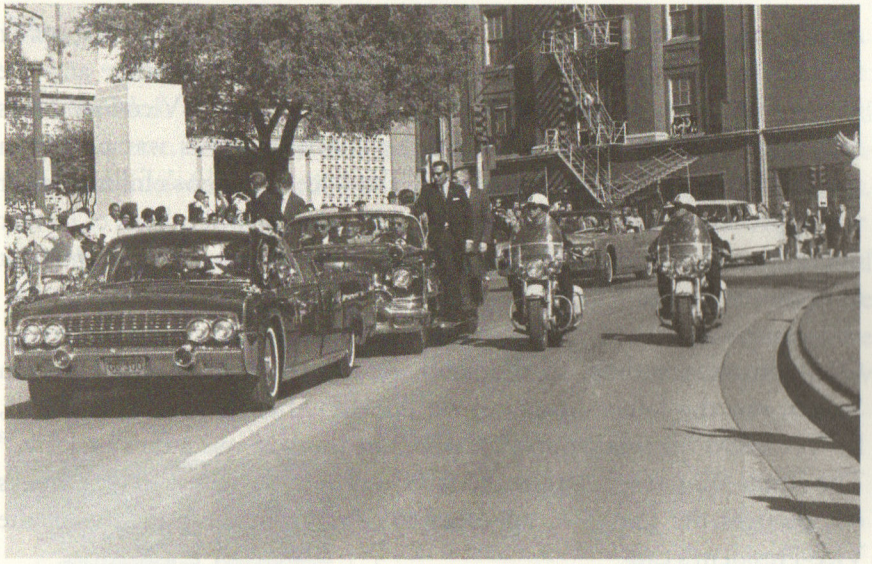
The above was a summary of the event. What follows is a detailed examination.

The Elevated Seat

The back seat of the Presidential limousine could be raised electronically to a height of 8 to 10 ½ inches from the floorboard.[6] A source who was in daily contact with President Kennedy told the authors the back seat could be elevated by controls located in the front seat. Secret Service agent Roy H. Kellerman, when questioned by the FBI on this specific point, claimed only the President could adjust the seat and denied it was elevated on Nov. 22.[7]

At the time of the assassination, the back seat was raised[8] to a level so the President was higher than the Governor and presented an easy target. That is why the President appeared to be "half-standing"[9] during the shooting. Because the seat was raised seconds before he was shot, he seemed to rise or straighten up.[10]

The back cushion of the limousine progressively rose and elevated the President as the motorcade neared Dealey Plaza (Fig. 3-1).[11] The highest point of elevation during the shooting is shown in Altgens' photograph (Fig. 3-3):[12]



Though Mrs. Kennedy is seated, her hat appears higher than the visors on the top of the limousine windshield.

When the FBI conducted its reenactment tests in Dallas in May 1964, the limousine was unavailable: It was being rebuilt for President Johnson's use. The car used in its place had the President's stand-in ". . . 10 inches higher . . . above the street than the President would have been in the Presidential limousine."[13] Even then, apparently to adequately compensate for the elevated back seat, the President's stand-in had to sit on a pillow.[14]

The Gap

As the Presidential limousine turned the corner from Houston Street onto Elm Street—directly in front of the depository building—a gap grew between the Presidential follow-up car and the Vice-President's car. [15]

The Texas Highway Patrolman driving the Vice-President's car may have sensed danger ahead of him, and slowed down, thereby creating the gap.

The Decoy Shot

As the motorcade approached Elm Street, an amateur photographer focused his 8mm movie camera on the Presidential limousine and the front of the depository building. His lens also caught the Vice-President's follow-up car, the third car behind the limousine. This was perhaps a minute before the first shot was heard. The Vice-President's follow-up car was approaching the left hand turn into Elm Street when both of its rear doors opened, 6 to 8 inches (Fig. 3-2). According to the film, no one got in or out of the car.[16]

One witness, standing on the southeast corner of Elm and Houston Streets, saw the follow-up car's open doors.[17] After it turned the corner, he ". . . heard the first report . . ." which he thought was a car's backfire.[18] The Texas Highway Patrolman, who was driving the Vice-President's car, thought the shot ". . . appeared to come from the right rear of the Vice-President's car."[19]

Many witnesses said the first shot sounded like a "firecracker"[20] or a "backfire"[21] in the street. Altgens' sixth photograph of those he took in Dealey Plaza (Fig. 3-3) tends to support the contention that someone in the motorcade fired a gun up into the air at the intersection of Elm and Houston Streets, when the limousine was about 100 feet down Elm Street.

Altgens' photo, which was taken about three seconds after the decoy shot was fired, when enlarged (Fig. 3-4), shows Secret Service agent Warren W. Taylor, in the rear left seat,[22] of the Vice-President's follow-up car. His arm is outside the open car door; the configuration of his hand suggests he could be holding a gun. Those people in the car immediately behind it smelled gunpowder.

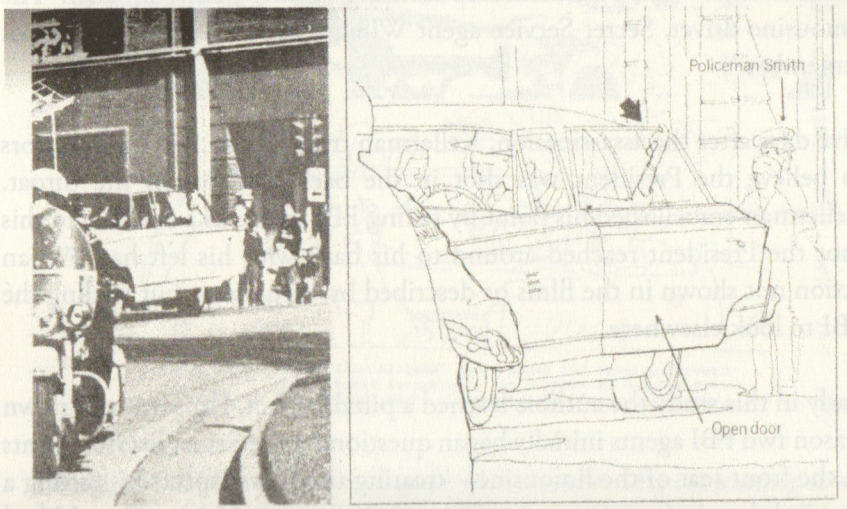
Altgens' photo also shows Lyndon Johnson leaning forward apparently in the process of crouching down at the point in time when others in the motorcade seem unaware of any danger (Fig. 3-5). One witness, who stood on the curb of Elm Street during the shooting, said, "wasn't that rather odd that Johnson was on the floor before the shot sounded?"[23]

Sen. Yarborough, who was in the back seat with Johnson, noted, ". . . the Secret Service responded very slowly . . ."[23-a] Youngblood, Johnson's agent in the front seat, ". . . did not come into the back seat until the shooting and danger were all over."[23-b]

The Second Shot

The President faced slightly to his right and was waving to the crowd on Elm Street,[24] when the second shot was fired.[25] The bullet nicked the left-hand side of his necktie knot, pierced his shirt, and ripped his throat.

The President's immediate reaction[26] indicated he might have glimpsed the gunman in the front seat and started to duck[27] out of the way. He hunched over and began to lean toward his wife,[28] but the elevation of the rear seat and his back brace28-a probably hindered him from getting low enough to save himself.



[FIGURE 3-3. ALTGENS' PHOTOGRAPH NUMBER FIVE]

[FIGURE 3-4]. Detail from Altgens' photo shows Johnson's Secret Service follow-up car with door still open and Agent Taylor's arm extended (arrow). Police officer Smith, standing nearby, said he smelled gunpowder after the assassination.]

Roy H. Kellerman, the Secret Service agent in charge of the trip, sat in the right front seat of the limousine.[29] He neither offered warning nor took any action to protect the President. Kellerman claimed, in an interview with two FBI agents the same day, after this shot, the President said, "Get me to a hospital."[30] Later, and still the only witness maintaining Kennedy spoke, he quoted the President as having said, "My God, I am hit."[30-a] In his testimony before the Warren Commission Kellerman called the FBI report "incorrect".[31]

A shot striking the President in the throat while he was facing ahead would mean the gunman was in front of him. Under these circumstances, Kellerman and the driver, Greer, could not escape suspicion. Having the President talk was Kellerman's way of steering the investigation away from he and Greer.

Contrary to Kellerman's statements, the President was hit in the throat and therefore unable to speak. According to Mrs. Kennedy,[32] the Governor[33] and his wife,[34] the President said nothing at this point, or later. The limousine driver, Secret Service agent William R. Greer, said he did not remember.[35]

Five days after the assassination, Kellerman tried to lead FBI investigators to believe the President was shot in the back and not in the throat. Kellerman embellished his point by telling FBI agents as a reaction to this shot the President reached around to his back with his left hand[36]—an action not shown in the films or described by witnesses—but leading the FBI to look elsewhere.

Early in this study the authors learned a puzzling fact. For some unknown reason two FBI agents initially began questioning the Secret Service agents in the front seat of the limousine—treating them as suspects by getting a physical description of the two. This was before Lee Harvey Oswald had been charged with the murder; just who alerted the FBI agents to report

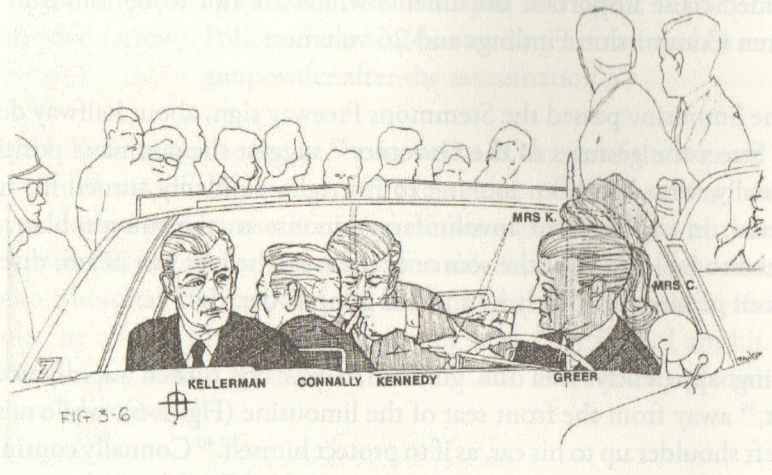
on the actions of driver Greer and Kellerman remains a mystery. We have included these important documents which are not to be found in the Warren Commission Findings and 26 volumes.

As the limousine passed the Stemmons Freeway sign, about halfway down Elm Street the gestures of the Governor[37] suggest the gunman's position. Connally, who had been looking to his right, suddenly turned his head forward, in an apparent involuntary response to the muzzle blast. He seemed to be looking at the source of the noise he had just heard, directly in front of him. It is likely he smelled gunpowder, too.[38]

Having apparently seen the gunman, Connally turned rapidly to his right,[39] away from the front seat of the limousine (Fig. 3-6), while raising his left shoulder up to his ear, as if to protect himself.[40] Connally continued to turn to his right until he faced the wounded President who was still slumping.

Fig. 14-B Detail from Altgens' photo shows LBJ leaning forward toward Agent Youngblood, in process of ducking down behind front seat. Others appear unaware of danger.

[FIGURE 3-5] Detail from Altgens' Photo shows LBJ (a) leaning toward Agent Youngblood while ducking down behind the front seat. Others appear unaware of the danger. Yarborough is (b)



[FIGURE 3-6] Positions of occupants after President Kennedy was shot in the throat. (Windshield, sunscreen and mirror removed for clarity.) Based on Altgens' photograph number five.

The Third Shot

Connally looked directly into the face of the slumping President,[41] and then started to turn back to his left. As he faced the rear of the limousine, a Secret Service agent shot him in the back, [42] while he was screaming a newsman gave a vivid description:

". . . Governor Connally, whose coat button was open, turned in such a way to extend his right hand out towards the President, and the Governor seemed to have a look on his face that might say, 'What is it? What happened?' And as he turned he exposed his entire shirt front and chest because his coat was unbuttoned—at that moment a shot very clearly hit that part of the Governor.[43]"

A witness within 10 feet of the limousine at that point saw blood on Connally's shirt front.[44] Motorcycle officer Douglas L. Jackson saw Connally's reaction to the shot. Jackson was trailing the limousine to the right when he heard what he thought was a motorcycle backfire to his rear. Then he noticed "Mr. Connally was looking back toward me. And about

that time then the second shot went off. That's the point when I knew that somebody was shooting at them because that was the time he [Connally] got hit—because he jerked. I was looking directly at him . . . he was looking . . . kind of back toward me and . . . he just kind of flinched."[45]

As the President was hit, Connally cried, "Oh, no, no, no." Then as the bullet struck him, Connally screamed, "My God, they're going to kill us all!" According to his wife, he "recoiled" to the right side of the limousine, against the door and away from her, following the direction of the bullet, away from the muzzle. He slumped upright in his seat, until his wife pulled him back and down into her lap.[46] Mrs. Kennedy remembered Connally ". . . screamed like a stuck pig."[47]

The bullet entered the back of Connally's right shoulder near the armpit, exited his chest, and continued into his wrist, where most of it lodged. The tiny fragment remaining was deflected into his thigh.

Mrs. Kennedy's bodyguard, Clinton Hill, who was in the follow-up car behind the limousine, heard the effect of the shot. He noted not only did this shot have a different sound than the previous one, but it also ". . . had a double sound—as though you were standing against something metal and firing into it, and you hear both the sound of the gun going off and the sound of the cartridge hitting the metal place . . ."[48] He added, "It was as though someone was shooting a revolver into a hard object . . ."[49] That sound was Greer firing into Connally's back in an effort to stop the Governor from exposing the agents in the front seat. The "double sound" described by Agent Hill was caused by the bullet hitting the inside of the limousine door after going through the Governor's chest.

The Fourth Shot

The President was facing forward and slightly to his left when he was stuck by the fatal bullet fired by the driver.

Motorcycle officer James M. Chaney was close behind the slumping President on the right side of the slowing limousine. Chaney later told reporters, the same day, the fatal shot "struck" the President ". . . in the face."[50]

According to Presidential aides Powers and O'Donnell, "the impact lifted him . . ."[51] A shot from the high rear would have driven the body forward and downward. A shot from directly in front drove the body backwards and upward, lifting him as he rebounded from the back seat.

Some witnesses tried to be specific about the origin of the shooting. In front of the Sheriff's Office at Main and Houston Streets, officer E. L. Boone stated, ". . . I heard three shots comming [sic] from the vicinity of where the Presidents [sic] car was . . ."[51-a] Motorcycle officer Bobby W. Hargis was riding next to Mrs. Kennedy, at the left rear of the limousine. His impression was: ". . . it sounded like the shots were right next to me."[52]

Charles F. Brehm, standing on the south side of Elm Street, thought ". . . the shots came from in front of or beside the President."[53] Mrs. Jean L. Hill, at the same location, not only noted "scrambling around in the front seat,"[54] but also recalled at least one shot from the front seat of the limousine.[55] "I thought," she said in another statement, "I saw some men in plain clothes shooting back . . ."[55-a] Mary Ann Moorman, standing next to Mrs. Hill, and 10-15 feet from the limousine, thought the shots sounded like a firecracker right beside her.[56] James W. Altgens, an Associated Press photographer, also on the south side of Elm Street, mentioned the possibility the shot came from the ". . . left-hand side of the car," if it was close range, because ". . . if it were a pistol it would have to be fired at close range for any degree of accuracy . . ."[57]

According to Hugh W. Betzner, Jr., near the corner of Elm and Houston Streets, he ". . . saw what looked like a firecracker going off in the president's car." Furthermore, he recalled ". . . seeing what looked like a nickel revolver in someone's hand in the President's car or somewhere immediately around his car."[58] James N. Crawford, who stood at the southeast corner of Elm and Houston Streets, said he ". . . heard sounds which he believed to be the backfiring of an automobile." He believed ". . . these sounds came from one of the cars in front of the motorcade . . ."[59]

The triple underpass over Elm Street afforded another view of the motorcade. George A. Davis stated ". . . he saw guns in the hands of the Secret Service agents with President Kennedy, saw President Kennedy slumped forward . . ."[60] Austin L. Miller, near Davis on the underpass,

when asked from where the shots came, told the Warren Commission, "Well the way it sounded like, it came from the, I would say from right there in the car."[61] He was not questioned further by Commission Attorney Arlen Specter on this point.

The Smell of Gunsmoke

In addition to eyewitnesses and ear witnesses, there were also "nose" witnesses to the murder. Those who smelled gunpowder at the scene of the shooting helped to pinpoint the source of the shots. Placed on a map (Fig. 3-7), they were within the path of the motorcade or near Elm Street. The motorcade headed west down Elm Street into a modest breeze.[62]

Motorcycle escort officer Billy J. Martin, riding one-half car length from the left rear fender of the Presidential limousine, recalled, "You could smell the gunpowder . . . you knew he wasn't far away. When you're that close, you can smell the powder burning. Why you—you've got to be pretty close to them . . . you could smell the gunpowder . . . right there in the street."[63] (Figure 3-7)

"Nose" witnesses

Sen. Ralph Yarborough rode in the second car behind the limousine. He smelled gunpowder in the street[64] and said it clung to the car throughout the race to Parkland Hospital.[65] He later commented, ". . . you don't smell gunpowder unless you're shooting at something up wind and it blows it back in your face . . ."[65-a] As noted, the motorcade headed into a breeze—photographs show bystanders' skirts billowing in the wind. At Parkland Hospital Yarborough told reporters "the third shot may have been a Secret Service man returning fire".[65-b]

Two cars behind Yarborough was the Cabell car. Elizabeth Cabell said she ". . . was acutely aware of the odor of gunpowder."[66] She added Congressman Ray Roberts, seated next to her, had mentioned it also.[67]

According to press photographer Tom C. Dillard, two cars behind the Cabell car, he ". . . very definitely smelled gunpowder when the cars moved up to the corner [of Elm and Houston Streets]."[68]

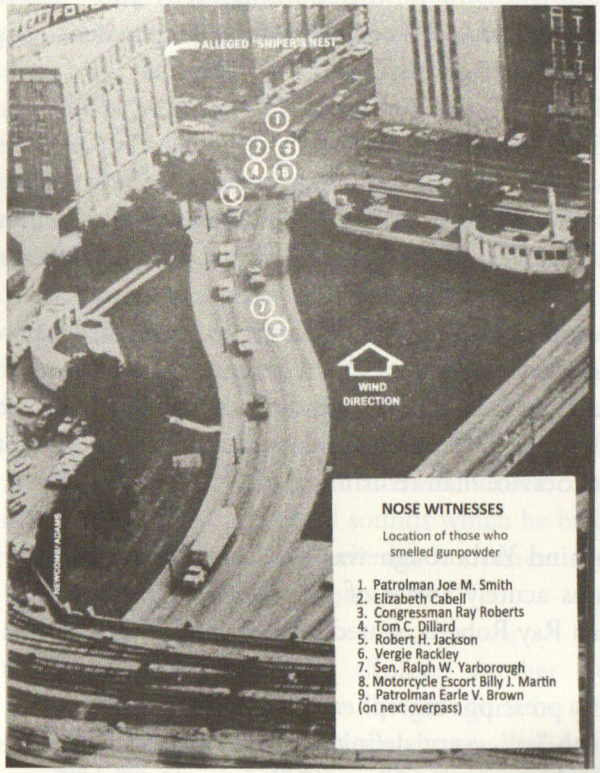
Bystander Virgie Rackley stood in front of the depository building close to the street. "She recalled that after the second shot, she smelled gunsmoke . . ."[69]

At the time of the shots, patrolman Joe M. Smith moved from the intersection of Elm and Houston Streets toward the triple underpass.[70]

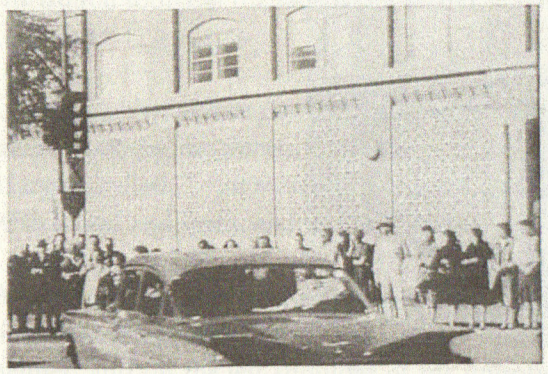
Patrolman Earle V. Brown, stationed 100 yards west of the underpass, heard the shots and then smelled gunpowder as the car sped beneath him.[71]

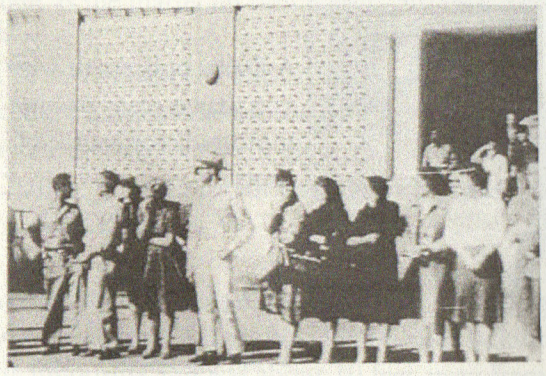
A police officer who was on the sixth floor of the depository shortly after the shooting failed to smell any gunpowder there.[72]

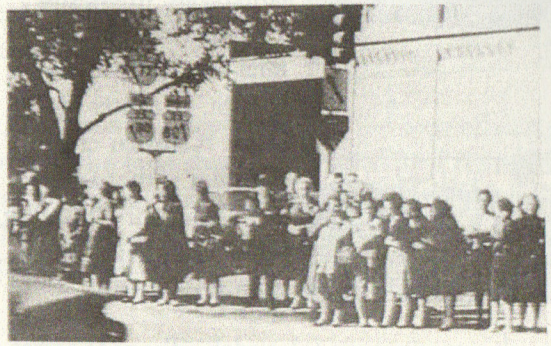
One newspaper summed it up: ". . . seconds later the cavalcade was gone. The area still reeked with the smell of gunpowder."[73] Shots from the sixth floor of the depository building would have caused no gunpowder smell in the street.


ALLEGED "SNIPER'S NEST"
WIND DIRECTION
NOSE WITNESSES
Location of those who smelled gunpowder
1. Patrolman Joe M. Smith
2. Elizabeth Cabell
3. Congressman Ray Roberts
4. Tom C. Dillard
5. Robert H. Jackson
6. Vergie Rackley
7. Sen. Ralph W. Yarborough
8. Motorcycle Escort Billy J. Martin
9. Patrolman Earle V. Brown (on next overpass)

[FIGURE 3-7] "NOSE" WITNESSES



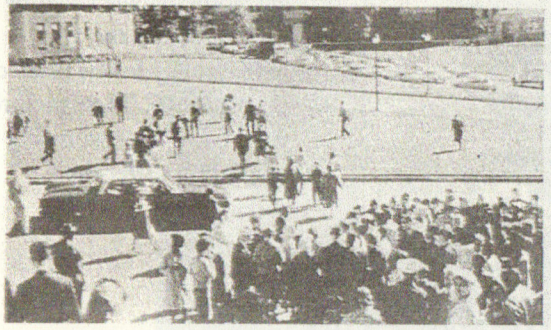




Crowd Reaction

Crowd standing at curb in front of Book Depository Building show no awareness that a gunman has just fired a rifle six stories above them. Their attention is directed down Elm St. at the motorcade where some thought shooting occurred. Most witnesses thought explosions were either firecrackers thrown in street or the backfire of a car or motorcycle. These photos are from a movie taken by a cameraman in the motorcade. He was located in car no. 15. These pictures were taken approximately one minute after the shooting.

A Dallas policeman with gun drawn scans passing motorcade for source of shots.



People in Dealey Plaze congregate where the President received the fatal shot halfway down Elm St. in center of plaza. A similar crowd does not gather around the Depository building, where the alleged gunman fired a rifle.

Impact from the Fatal Shot

The pattern of debris from the President's brain is another indication of the frontal source of the fatal shot. Matter fell to the rear of the limousine. (Fig. 3-8)

Officer Bobby W. Hargis, who rode at the left rear of the limousine, was hit so hard by the debris, "I thought at first I might have been hit."[74] Hargis recalled, ". . . it seemed like his head exploded, and I was splattered with blood and brain, and kind of bloody water."[75]

Also on the left rear, next to Hargis, was Billy J. Martin. Martin noticed bloody matter on the windshield of his motorcycle, the left side of his helmet, and on the left shoulder of his uniform.[76] He had turned to his right as the matter hit him.[77]

The two motorcycle officers on the right rear of the limousine were closer to the President than those on the left. James M. Chaney, on the right, stated that all four were hit with the "spray".[78] The bloody condition of Chaney's motorcycle and clothes were later noted by Sgt. Stavis Ellis at Parkland Hospital.[79]

Also on the right rear of the limousine was Douglas L. Jackson, who stated he was not hit.[80] This is possible because Jackson had begun to lag behind the limousine and was about 10 feet away from it at the time of the fatal shot.[81] Officer Chaney, who was riding in front of Jackson, could have screened him.

Fig. 3-8 shows the positions of the four officers and the limousine at the time of the fatal shot. The shaded area represents the zone where debris was forced out by an exiting bullet from the back of the President's head. The cone-shaped pattern indicates a shot was fired from directly in front of the President.

In terms of specific debris, (a) approximates the spot where a piece of bone from the President's skull was found, some 8 to 12 inches from the south curb of Elm Street.[82] Area (b) indicates the point where another piece of bone was found the next day.[83]

Mrs. Kennedy's Reaction

The actions of Mrs. Kennedy after the fatal shot seemed to have been instinctive. That is, she simply tried to get away from the source of danger by climbing out onto the trunk of the limousine.[84] Her bodyguard, Clinton Hill, jumped from the right front running board of the Presidential follow-up car onto the back of the limousine to assist her. As he reached the limousine, "Mrs. Kennedy shouted, 'They've shot his head off,' then turned and raised out of her seat . . ."[85]

Fifth Shot

When Mrs. Kennedy was about to climb out of the Presidential limousine and Governor Connally pulled himself up and looked over into the front seat, another shot was fired. That bullet hit the windshield of the limousine at the same time a very visible flare emanating from Governor Connally's position can be seen on frame 329 and 330 of the Zapruder Film.[86] The damage can be clearly seen in one of Altgens' photographs (Fig. 3-9).

Who fired this shot? Was Governor Connally armed that day and retaliated by firing a shot in panic into the front seat? There were news reports from the scene declaring that a Secret Service agent was killed with the President. These reports were later denied by Secret Service because the agents were divided into two groups (1) the clueless loyalists and (2) those recruited into the plot (probably 4 or 5). The bullet hole was noticed by reporter Richard Dudman.[87] Sgt. Stavis Ellis described it: "Well, it was a hole. You could put a pencil through it. I showed it to Officer Chaney out there at the hospital [Parkland] . . . you could take a regular standard writing pencil—wood pencil—and stick it through there . . . and some Secret Service agent ran up there and said, 'That's no bullet hole, that's a fragment. It wasn't a damn fragment; it was a hole".[88]

There was a bullet scar on the curb near the triple underpass.[89] By projecting a line, from the curb, through the windshield of the limousine at that point in time, it aligns near the center of the road. The line of trajectory points to a source within the motorcade.

Because of the steep angle—45 degrees—of the front windshield, this shot must have been fired near ground level from some point behind the limousine. A shot from above the motorcade, such as from the sixth floor of the depository, would have hit either the windshield or the curb, not both.

The Car Stop

After the fatal shot, the Presidential limousine, which had been slowing down, came to a momentary stop. It did not accelerate as claimed by the driver, Greer, and his front seat passenger, Kellerman. Greer testified, ". . . right away after the second one [shot] I accelerated as fast as I could."[90] Kellerman stated, ". . . we just literally jumped out of the God-damn road."[91]

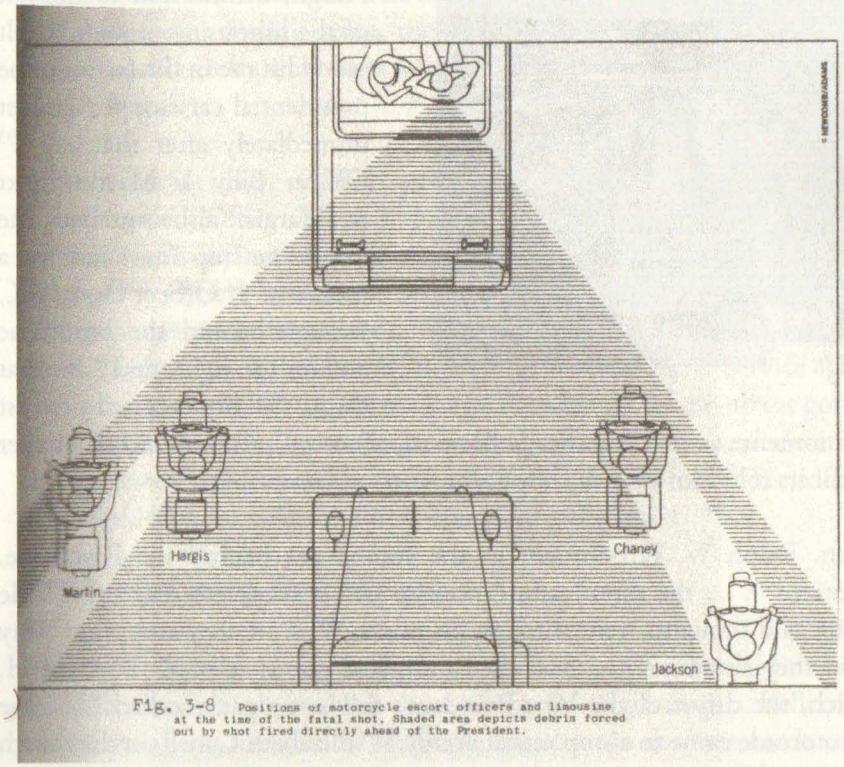
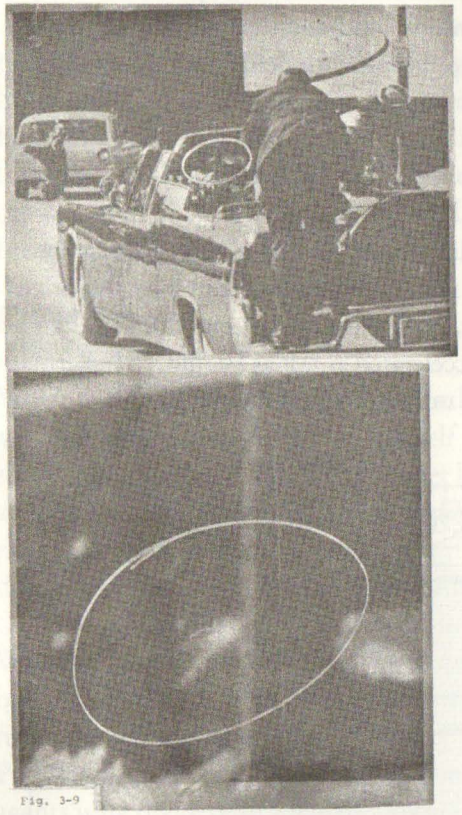


Fig. 3-8 Positions of motorcycle escort officers and limousine at the time of the fatal shot. Shaded area depicts debris forced out by shot fired directly ahead of the President.

[Fig. 3-8]. Positions of motorcycle escort officers and limousine at the time of the fatal shot. Shaded area depicts the zone where debris was forced out by a shot fired directly ahead of the President

[FIGURE 3-9]. Area circled indicates bullet damage to limousine windshield. Altgens' photograph number seven.]



Governor Connally recalled, ". . . then, after the third shot, the next thing that occurred, I was conscious the Secret Service man, of course, the chauffeur, had ah, had pulled out of line . . ." [92]

Motorcycle officer Bobby W. Hargis, behind and to the left of the limousine, noted: "I felt blood hit me in the face and the presidential car stopped almost immediately after that . . ."[93] Officer Billy J. Martin, next to Hargis, also watched the limousine stop ". . . just for a moment." [94] Officer Douglas L. Jackson behind the limousine and on the right, said ". . . that car just all but stopped . . . just a moment . . . ." [95] Another policeman, Marrion L. Baker, said that other officers told him that the limousine stopped completely. [96]

Sen. Ralph W. Yarborough, in the second car behind the limousine, noticed ". . . the motorcade slowed to . . . a complete stop . . ."[97] He later said thoughts went through his mind: Why are they stopping? Why did they slow up? . . . And then I smelled gunpowder . . ." [97-a] Joe H. Rich, the driver of the Vice-President's follow-up car, recalled ". . . the motorcade came to a stop momentarily." [98] Elizabeth Cabell, in the fourth car, described the motorcade as "stopped dead still." [99] Robert Baskin of the Dallas Morning News, behind the Cabell car, said, ". . . the motorcade ground to a halt." [100]

Alan Smith, a witness on Elm Street, was specific: "The car was 10 feet from me when a bullet hit the president in the forehead . . . the car went about five feet and stopped." [101]

Some 20 other witnesses at various locations in the plaza confirmed the presidential limousine coming to a stop. [102] Newsweek magazine wrote: "For a chaotic moment, the motorcade ground to an uncertain halt." [103] Time asserted: "There was a shocking momentary stillness, a frozen tableau." [104] UPI, in its book, "Four Days," was graphic. It printed a photograph made from a frame of an amateur movie film and captioned it: ". . . the driver slams on the brakes . . ."[105]

Why did the limousine remain in the area immediately after the shots with a motionless President? The driver most likely stopped when he saw Mrs. Kennedy crawling across the trunk of the limousine. What if she had been able to leave it? This was one witness who could not be left in Dealey Plaza.

Some Secret Service agents did try to reach the Presidential limousine while it was stopped. Officer Baker, a block from the limousine, watched Secret Service agents trying to get into the limousine after it had completely stopped.[106] Officer Harkness, on the northwest corner of Main and Houston streets, confirmed this. [107] Robert Baskin of the Dallas Morning News, in the fifth car behind the limousine, noticed Secret Service agents about the limousine.[108] One agent in the Presidential follow-up car got out and tried to reach the limousine, but was recalled.[109] Newsweek described the situation: ". . . Secret Service men bounded out . . . [of the Presidential follow-up car], one with a submachine gun at the ready.[110]

A Mysterious Broadcast

The Secret Service agents in the front seat of the Presidential limousine failed to sound the alarm about the security of their passengers. Kellerman, one of the agents, claimed he radioed the lead car in the motorcade to get the limousine to a hospital.[111] Those in the lead car failed to confirm this.[112] Greer, the limousine driver, told the FBI that he ". . . glanced around and noticed that the President had evidently been hit. He thereafter got on the radio . . ."[113] When later asked about this by the Warren Commission,

Greer denied it. He asserted, "It was Mr. Kellerman who done the radio talking. I didn't. It is a misquote if I done it." [114]

One of the closest witnesses at the time was Eugene Newman, who was standing at the curb near the point where the President received the fatal shot. Newman remembered seeing the driver with something in his hand, which Newman took to be a phone. [115]

In a Commission re-enactment the following May, Kellerman's stand-in is shown holding a standard telephone receiver to his ear[116] despite the fact that films of the event show no telephone to Kellerman's face.

If Kellerman was using a radio, what was his purpose?

For the plot to succeed, attention had to be focused on the scapegoat's building, the Texas School Book Depository. Immediately after the shots were fired, an order was issued over the radio to surround the depository. Secret Service agents in the lead car credited the Dallas Police Chief with that order.[117] Existing police tape recordings fail to support the Secret Service's claim.[118]

Kellerman could have talked with anyone he wished. The Presidential limousine had "two-way radios, one equipped with a 'scrambler' so that confidential calls can be made through local switchboards without danger of listening in." [119]

Who did broadcast the order over the police radio to surround the building? During the period of the assassination, "Channel 1" of the Dallas Police Dept.'s radio was immobilized, seemingly because someone had ". . . a mike button stuck open." [120]

What was on that tape is known to the Secret Service: on Nov. 29, 1963, they recorded police tapes and took them to Washington, D.C. ". . . for filtering, recording and transcription." [121] It was mid-1964 when the Commission asked the FBI to transcribe the tapes. The FBI complied, but with some difficulty ". . . due to the badly worn condition of the original tapes . . . [122]

To The Hospital

How was the lead car informed to take the stricken limousine to Parkland Hospital?

The limousine gained rapidly on the lead car until both were side-by-side under the triple underpass.[123] Mrs. Kennedy's bodyguard, who jumped on the back of the limousine, shouted as loud as he could to the lead car: "To the hospital, to the hospital.[124]

No motorcycles rode past the limousine to the lead car.[125] Just after the shooting, the four motorcycle officers assigned to the limousine dropped back from it and stopped. One officer, hit by blood and matter jumped from his motorcycle, ran over to a lamp post, and rubbed his eyes. Two stopped. The other stopped, and then circled in the street. [126]

The officers did not stay with the limousine as ordered, apparently because they felt that their lives were endangered by the shots immediately in front of them. Being sprayed by bloody matter reinforced that.

Monitoring the Assassination

Before the shooting, several Secret Servicemen stationed themselves discretely about the plaza to check witnesses and evidence. [127] Their presence became known in a number of instances immediately after the Presidential limousine left the scene.

Dallas police officer Joe M. Smith drew his revolver on an individual he confronted in the grassy knoll area of the plaza. "Just as I did," said Smith, "he showed me that he was a Secret Service agent."[128] Officer Smith, who noted the person was dressed in old clothes, believed Secret Service agents had positioned themselves in this manner among bystanders.[129]

An agent who acknowledged that he left the motorcade during the shooting was Thomas L. Johns. He jumped from the Vice-President's follow-up car and was left in the street when the motorcade picked up speed.[130]

Agents were also around the depository. Sgt. D.V. Harkness went to the rear of the building and found "there were some Secret Service agents there."[131] A Secret Service agent met Lee H. Oswald, the scapegoat, outside of the front door of the depository and asked him where a phone was located. [132]

In the railroad yards behind the depository, Lee F. Bowers, Jr., a railroad employee, overlooked the area from a signal tower and may have witnessed some Secret Service activity. Of the several cars he saw driving around in the railroad yards before the arrival of the motorcade, one seemed to be equipped with a microphone. The driver ". . . was holding something up to his mouth with one hand and he was driving with the other . . ."[133] Police officer Seymour Weitzman noted Secret Service agents in the railroad yards immediately after the assassination.[134]

The location of two local Secret Service agents during the motorcade is unexplained, e.g., James (Mike) Howard and Charles Kunkel. Other Secret Service agents are likewise unaccounted for in the record.

The Secret Service asserted its control with the police. In the afternoon, after the assassination, officers connected with the motorcade were assembled in a detail room at city hall.[135] They were confronted by agent Forrest V. Sorrels[136] about the Secret Service view of events.

The officer in charge of the motorcade traffic control recalled that the Secret Service called all of his men ". . . to be questioned and that this investigation was being handled by the Secret Service . . ."[137]

Sowing the Scenario

Five cars behind the Presidential limousine was the press pool car. It was equipped with a radiophone linked to the local wire service offices in downtown Dallas. Reporters in this car, with AP and UPI, could send a message into newsrooms around the world within minutes. Such a dispatch would precede or preempt other accounts and dominate the news.

At the time of the shooting, the pool car was three-fourths the distance down Houston St. The Presidential limousine, some 100 feet down Elm

St., was obscured from view. No one in the pool car could see what was happening in, or around, the limousine.[138]

Yet, at that point, Merriman Smith took the radiophone and told the UPI bureau in Dallas: "Three shots were fired at President Kennedy's motorcade in downtown Dallas." That was on the UPI teletype at 12:34. And Smith continued to dictate. Another wire service reporter wanted the phone, but Smith refused to yield. Only when the pool car reached Parkland Hospital did Smith give the phone to him. The line, however, was dead.[139]

Smith either tucked the phone between his knees or ripped it out from the dashboard. 140 In any case, he repeated the scenario—three shots—and then sabotaged the wires. His message conformed to the evidence planted in the depository: Only three empty shells were scattered under the sixth floor window. A rifle was hidden under some boxes to be later discovered. Bullet fragments, traceable to the rifle, were later found in the limousine: A whole, un-deformed bullet, also traceable to the rifle, was discovered on a stretcher at Parkland Hospital in Dallas.

Television network centers in New York City were out of contact at this point. David M. Brinkley of NBC was in a state of "controlled panic." Walter Cronkite of CBS could only pass along Smith's bulletin and wonder why the teletypes were so muted in such a crisis.[141]

Later in the afternoon, Secret Service agents used Smith's three shot scenario on an important witness. Agents William Patterson and John J. Howlett questioned Jean Hill at the Sheriff's Dept. close to 4 p.m.[141-a] Though she insisted she ". . . heard from four to six shots . . .," their response was: ". . . we heard more shots also, but we have three wounds and we have three bullets, three shots in all that we are willing to say right now."[141-b] These agents were able to assume knowledge of the number of shots and number of wounds before an autopsy had been conducted, and before all witnesses had been questioned.

Over at Parkland Hospital, while other reporters were looking for phones, Smith was ". . . just holding a phone, but didn't seem to be using it." When reporter Burt Shipp tried to get it from him, he refused to surrender it."[142]

Another example of Smith's efforts to protect his story also occurred at Parkland Hospital. Not knowing what an Assistant Presidential press secretary would say at a news conference, Smith pleaded and demanded that reporters be told prior to the announcement. In this instance, he had to wait. [143]

In 1961, Smith had viewed the Kennedy Administration with alarm. He called them the ". . . New People: hot-eyed curious but unconcerned with protocol, and yeasty with shocking ideas . . . they also have their moments of short-sightedness, bias, prejudice and needlessly argumentative verbosity."[144]

Smith was close to the Secret Service. He ". . . lived so closely with Secret Service men that he came to share their views on many of the problems involved in protecting presidents . . ."[145]

Smith received the Pulitzer Prize in 1964 for his assassination story. Lyndon Johnson later awarded him the Presidential Medal of Freedom.[146]

Witnesses That Do Not Witness

A certain amount of skepticism seems necessary to evaluate some eyewitness accounts.

Standards for reliable witnesses were listed by one writer: they must be able to anticipate the event, be attentive, uninvolved in the action, and make a written record immediately afterward. [147]

The shooting in Dealey Plaza was unexpected; witnesses differed in their descriptions; and the murder of a President was unlikely to sustain objectivity. Those who did take notes could have been influenced by news accounts because of the event's importance and the tendency to accept authoritative sources. Of those who made no record, time perhaps had the greatest impact on their memories.

Conflicts in testimony may denote falsity, but they can also denote the truth. For example, the Warren Commission might select those witnesses who said the shots came from behind the President; critics of the Commission

would side with those who asserted the shots came from ahead of him. Yet both statements are not necessarily false. Some heard the decoy shots behind the President; others heard the assassin's shots at the front.

The emotional state of witnesses at the time also has a bearing. It is probable that a certain type of crime, committed in full view, can inhibit witnesses from truthfully stating what they clearly saw. They can immediately grasp the significance of what they saw, and keep quiet about it, without a word said to them.

Therefore, they can protect themselves by saying that they saw nothing. They may give a garbled or exaggerated account to discredit their testimony. They may say they were too far away to see anything, or that something blocked their view. They may speak euphemistically: e.g., that shots were "firecrackers," that their source was "the grassy knoll" area of Dealey Plaza.

Self-censorship may exist most strongly when people are confronted with a force capable of killing a very important victim, in broad daylight, with impunity. The odds of their experiencing reprisal would dictate prudence. In short, witnesses' opinion of the political power of the killers would determine their amount of recall.

Considering these aspects, we can understand the non-statements of some witnesses to the assassination, in particular, those who were close to the events in the small plaza.

A man at the corner of Elm and Houston Streets said that he saw the President and Governor fall over, but heard no shots.[148]

A woman who was on the south side of Elm Street filmed the assassination, but denied she did so to the FBI.[149] In a second FBI interview, she said she heard three shots, but was unable to give their location or direction.[150]

A man on the north side of Elm Street[151] was unable to recognize either the President or the Governor in the motorcade.[152]

A police officer stationed on the west side of the underpass testified he was unable to see the limousine coming toward the underpass because a train passed in front of him; he heard no shots.[153] No train was on the underpass during the time the Presidential motorcade entered and left Dealey Plaza.

Because of the problems with some witnesses, the need exists for records made at the moment of the assassination. Fortunately, such records are available on film.

Chapter Three Endnotes:

1. Manchester, *op. cit.*, p. 179 (PB).
2. Emmett J. Hudson, "Testimony of Emmett J. Hudson [dated July 22, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 7, p. 560.
3. Abraham Zapruder, "Testimony of Abraham Zapruder [dated July 22, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 7, p. 571.
4. Jean L. Hill, "Testimony of Mrs. Jean Lollis Hill [dated March 24, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 207.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
6. Greer, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 129.
   Thomas J. Kelly, "Testimony of Thomas J. Kelley [dated June 4, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 4, p. 131.
   The *New York Times* described the limousine as ". . . a button-pusher's dream, with a elevator seat . . . that can be raised 10 and one-half inches to put the President in more prominent view during parades." (June 15, 1961, p. 26).
7. Commission Document No. 7, p. 6.
8. John B. Connally, Jr., "Testimony of Gov. John Bowden Connally, Jr. [dated April 24, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 4, p. 131.
9. Charles F. Brehm, *Dallas Times Herald*, Nov. 22, 1963, p. A-19.
   Mrs. Chism though "the president was standing . . . when the shot happened." (Marion F. Chism, "Decker Exhibit No. 5323. 'Voluntary Statement [dated Nov. 22, 1963],' within Dallas County Sheriff's Office record of events surrounding the assassination in Hearings, v. 19, p. 472.
10. Gayle Newman, "Decker Exhibit No. 5323. 'Voluntary Statement [dated Nov. 22, 1063], within Dallas County Sheriff's Office record of events surrounding the assassination," in Hearings, v. 19, p. 488.
    Gayle Newman, "Commission Exhibit No. 1431. FBI report dated November 24, 1963, of interview of Frances Gayle Newman at Dallas, Tex. (CD 5, p. 53)," in Hearings, v. 22, p. 842. Peggy Joyce Hawkins, Commission Document No. 897, p. 37.
    Cecil Ault, "Commission Exhibit No. 2103. FBI report dated Feb. 10, 1964, of interview of Cecil Ault at Dallas, Tex. (CD 329, p. 26)," in Hearings, v. 24, p. 534.
11. Note: A line connects the eyes of the Connallys and Kennedys, creating an angle with the chrome strip along the top of the limousine door. The strip is used as a base line because it is relatively parallel to the road. The angle grows, up to seven degrees. Given the average human head as 81/2" from chin to the top of the skull, the elevation can be computed.
12. Altgens' photograph number five; equivalent to Zapruder frame 255.
13. Frazier, *op. cit.*, v. 5, p. 166.
14. *Newsweek*, June 8, 1964, p. 48.
15. Walter Cronkite, *CBS Television News*, Nov. 22, 1963, 1:31 p.m. CST.
    UPI, *Four Days*, p. 32.
    Fletcher Knebel, "After the Shots: the Ordeal of Lyndon Johnson,", *Look*, March 10, 1964, p. 27. Emory F. Roberts, "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. 'Schedule of events prior to and after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Dallas, Texas on Friday Nov. 22, 1963 [dated Nov. 29, 1963]' within Letter . . ." in Hearings, v. 18, p. 735.
16. Film by Robert J. Hughes.
17. James N. Crawford, "Testimony of James N. Crawford [dated April 1, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 6, p. 172.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Hurchel D. Jacks, "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. 'Statement of Hurchel Jacks, Texas Highway Patrolman, made on Nov. 28, 1963,' within Letter . . ." in Hearings, v. 18, p. 801.
20. Heard first shot as "firecracker" Winston G. Lawson (v. 4, p. 352) Roy H. Kellerman (v2, p. 73)
    David F. Powers (v. 7, p. 473) Kenneth P. O'Donnell (v. 7, p. 447)

Glen A. Bennett (v. 18, p. 760) George W. Hickey, Jr. (v. 18, p. 762)
John D. Ready (v. 18, p. 749) Clinton J. Hill (v. 2, p. 138)
Claudia A. "Ladybird" Johnson (v. 5, p. 565) Jerry D. Kivett (v. 18, p. 778)
Clifton C. Carter (v. 7, p. 474) Thomas L. Johns (v. 18, p. 773)
Warren W. Taylor (v. 18, p. 782) Earle Cabell (v. 7, p. 478)
James R. Underwood (v. 6, p. 169) Robert H. Jackson (v. 2, p. 159)
S.R. Yates (v. 21, p. 423) Mrs. Jack Franzen (v. 24, p. 525)
Jack Franzen (v. 22, p. 840) William F. Newman (v. 22, p. 842; v. 24, p. 219)
Mrs. Billie P. Clay (v. 22, p. 641) John A. Chism (v. 24, p. 525)
Mrs. Jean Newman (v. 19, p. 489; v. 22, p. 843)
James W. Altgens (v. 77, p. 517) Ronald B. Fischer (v. 6, p. 195)
Dolores A. Kaunas (v. 22, p. 659) Hugh W. Betzner, Jr. (v. 19, p. 467)
Edgar L. Smith, Jr. (v. 7, p. 567) Miss Mary A. Mitchell (v. 6, p. 176)
Mrs. Ruby Henderson (v. 24, p. 524) Welcome F. Barnett (v. 7, p. 541)
Roy S. Truly (v. 3, p. 221) Mrs. Donald S. Baker (v. 7, p. 508)
Miss Judy M. Johnson (v. 22, p. 656) William H. Shelley (v. 6, p. 329)
Billy N. Lovelady (v. 6, p. 338) Ms. Victoria F. Adams (v. 6, p. 388)
Dorothy A. Garner (v. 22, p. 648) Mrs. Alvin Hopson (v. 24, p. 521)
George A. Davis (v. 22, p. 837) S.M. Holland (v. 6, p. 245)
J. W. Foster (v. 6, p. 251) Nolan H. Potter (v. 22, p. 834)
Austin L. Miller (v. 6, p. 225) James T. Tague (v. 7, p. 553)
Barbara Howland (v. 6, p. 184) Seymour Weitzman (v. 7, p. 106)
Mrs. Lillian Mooneyham (v. 24, p. 531) Harry D. Holmes (v. 7, p. 291)
Betty Jean Thornton (v. 22, p. 677)

21. Heard first shot as "backfire"
William R. Greer (v. 2, p. 117) Thomas L. Johns (v. 18, p. 773)
Malcolm O. Couch (v. 6, p. 156) Mrs. Billy P. Clay (v. 22, p. 641)

Howard L. Brennan (v. 3, p. 143) Amos L. Euins (v. 2, p. 204)
Hugh W. Betzner, Jr. (v. 19, p. 467) James N. Crawford (v. 6, p. 172)
Buell W. Frazier (v. 2, p. 234) Miss Doris F. Burns (v, 6, p. 399)
Royce G. Skelton (v. 6, p. 175) Austin L. Miller (v. 6, p. 167)
Arnold L. Rowland (v. 2, p. 179) Edward Shields (v. 7, p. 394)
Mrs. Ruth Thornton (v. 24, p. 537) L.C. Todd (v. 19, p. 543)
L. C. Smith (v. 19, p. 516)

22. Warren W. Taylor, "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. 'Statement regarding events in Dallas, Texas, on Friday, November 22, 1963,' within Letter . . ." in Hearings, v. 18, p. 782.
23. Interview with Jean L. Hill.
In explaining his first reaction to newsmen, Johnson said that he thought, "the communists had done it." (David Halberstam, *The Best and The Brightest,* p. 298). He said, "I think I heard the first shot. I know Mr. Youngblood acted almost simultaneous. I heard reports about shots, ah, exchanges about firecrackers, er, what might be mufflers, [backfire] ah, but I, er, I couldn't be sure. I know I heard the first one. Perhaps [I] heard the others, unless his [Youngblood's] body covering me kept the sound from coming in there—may have muffled it, but I'm just not sure." (Walter Cronkite, "LBJ: Tragedy and Transition," *CBS News*, May 2, 1970).
The part in Altgens' photo that shows Johnson leaning forward is cropped out of the Warren Report (p. 113) and in one of its supporting volumes (v. 19, p. 93). The photo was published in another one of the 26 volumes—not as a direct print, which would be clear—from the two-page spread in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Dec. 14, 1963 (pp. 24-25). In addition to poor reproduction, it was not printed whole; one half was printed on one page, the other half on the next page (v. 21, pp. 781-782).
24. A basic piece of the photographic evidence of the events on Elm Street is an 8 mm. Color movie taken by Abraham Zapruder. In citing parts of the Zapruder film, frame numbers are used. In this case, the frames are numbers 133-203.
25. William Newman, standing with his wife and two small boys at the curb halfway down the north side of Elm Street, and immediately in front of Abraham Zapruder, described his impression of this

shot: "What we thought had happened, someone had throwed [sic] a firecracker beside the car." (Interview with William Newman.)

One of Jacqueline Kennedy's Secret Service bodyguards, standing on the right running board of the follow-up car, reported that, after hearing the first shot, he ". . . looking at the right front tire of the President's car and saw it was all right." His first thought was that a tire had blown out. (Paul F. Landis, Jr., "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. 'The Assassination of President John F. Kennedy on Nov. 22, 1963, at Dallas, Texas,' within Letter . . . ." In Hearings, v. 18, p. 754.

Charles Brehm, who stood opposite the Newmans, saw the limousine driver turn around, after the first shot, to see what had happened. "I thought," said Brehm, "it was just a firecracker that went off . . . that first shot." (Interview with Charles Brehm).

26. Zapruder film, frame numbers 225-312.

At a Warren Commission executive session, Commissioner Hale Boggs all but grasped the importance of the President's reaction here. While reviewing still photos of the Zapruder film in *Life* magazine, Commissioner John J. McCloy said, "Now, here he's reaching up for his throat." Boggs commented, "But he's looking straight ahead, reaching up for his throat, that's very significant, I think." Warren tried to divert their attention to the fatal head shot. Boggs and McCloy returned to the throat-grabbing reaction. McCloy asked how the President could have been shot from the triple underpass ahead of the limousine. "I inquired," he continued, "about this and they said that nobody was permitted on the overpass." (David S. Lifton (ed.), *Document Addendum*, pp. 72, 73.)

27. Welcome F. Barnett, "Testimony of Welcome Eugene Barnett [dated July 23, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 7, p. 541. Powers, *loc. cit.* 28.

28. Emory P. Roberts, *op cit.*, v. 18, p. 734.

Samuel A. Kinney, "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. '[Statement dated Nov. 22, 1963]," within Letter . . ." In Hearings, v. 18, p. 734.

Kinney, "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. 'The trip and assassination of President Kennedy in Dallas, Texas, Nov. 22, 1963,' within Letter . . . ." In Hearings, v. 18, p. 731.

O'Donnell, *op. cit.*, v. 7, pp. 447, 449.

George W. Hickey, Jr., "Commission Exhibit No. 1024" [Statement dated Nov. 22, 1963],' within Letter . . ." In Hearings, v. 18, p. 765.

Hickey, "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. 'Activities of S.A. George W. Hickey, Jr. from the time he arrived at Love Airfield, Dallas, Texas, Thursday, Nov. 21, 1963, to the time he departed from the Love Airfield, Friday, Nov. 22, 1963 [dated Nov. 30, 1963],' within Letter . . ." In Hearings, v. 18, p. 762.

Clinton J. Hill, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 138, 139.

28-a. According to Dr. James Weston, Kennedy's brace ". . . held him rigid after he was wounded in the neck by the first projectile [and] . . . prevented him from slumping forward or sideways . . ." Weston is the New Mexico state medical examiner and president-elect of the American Academy of Forensic Sciences who studied the autopsy pictures for CBS News (Santa Barbara News-Press, Nov. 27, 1975, p. A-5).

29. Roy H. Kellerman, "Testimony of Roy H. Kellerman, Special Agent, Secret Service [dated March 9, 1964]." In Hearings, v. 2, pp. 63, 68.

30. Commission Document No. 7, p. 283.

30-a. Kellerman, *op cit.*, v. 2, p. 273

31. Ibid, v. 2, pp. 92-93, 94, 95

32. Jacqueline Kennedy, *op. cit.*, v. 5, p. 180.

33. John B. Connally, Jr., *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 134.

34. Nellie Connally, "Testimony of Mrs. John Bowden Connally, Jr. [dated April 21, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 4, p. 147.

35. Greer, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 121.

36. Commission Document No. 7, p. 287.

37. Zapruder frame numbers 223, 231, 236.

38. Interview with Billy J. Martin.

39. Connally's initial story on Nov. 22 and 23, 1963, coincides with the film record and statements by witnesses, namely that he did turn to his right just before he was shot. Turned to his right, there was only one source for that hit him in the back. Later on, he denied this. For example, on Nov. 27, 1963, he deliberately lied in an interview, "As I turned to the left, I was hit." (*New York Times,* Nov. 28, 1963, p. 23.) Before the Commission, on April 21, 1964, Connally falsely claimed he just started ". . . turning

to look back over my left shoulder . . . a little bit to the left of center . . ." when he was hit (v. 4, p. 133).

40. Zapruder frame No. 240.
41. Connally stated, on Nov. 27, 1963, that President Kennedy ". . . slumped over . . ." (*New York Times*, Nov. 28. 1963, p. 23.) Yet, before the Commission in April 1964, he stated that he did not see the President (v. 4, p. 134.)
42. *Time* magazine reported that Connally said, "I think they shot me from the back." (issue of Nov. 29, 1963, p. 24)
43. Dan Rather, *CBS News*, Nov. 23, 1963, as he saw it on the Zapruder film.
44. Interview with William F. Newman.
45. Interview with Douglas L. Jackson. Jackson was neither called to testify before the Warren Commission nor did the FBI interview him.
46. Nellie Connally, Commission Document No. 188, pp. 6, 7.
    _____, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 147.
    _____, "Since That Day in Dallas," *McCalls*, August 1964, p. 79.
    Officer Douglas L. Jackson described seeing Connally hit as Connally faced the rear of the limousine: "He was looking back—kind of back toward me and he jerked—he just kind of flinched." Jackson thought Connally flinched toward the right side of the limousine. (Interview with Douglas L. Jackson).
    According to Manchester, Connally said, "My God, They're going to kill us both." (p. 170 (PB)).
47. Recently declassified portion of Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy's testimony before the Commission, obtained by Paul Hoch from the National Archives.
    When Hoch compared the official transcript with the published version, he found a total of 23 substantive changes in Mrs. Kennedy's testimony. For example, in the published version, she said that if she had been looking at the President when the first shot hit, ". . . then I could have pulled him down, and then the second shot would not have hit him" (v. 5, p. 180). The transcript reads: ". . . then the second shot would have gotten Governor Connally." In another instance, the published version has her saying, "But I do not remember, just as I don't recall climbing out on the back of the car." (v. 5, p. 181). The transcript has, "But as I

don't recall climbing out, like those pictures." Just who authorized these changes in the record is unknown.

48. Clinton J. Hill, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 144.
49. *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 138.
    Note: Hill was given the opportunity to clarify this. He was asked by Commission Counsel Arlen Specter, ". . . do you now or have you ever had the impression or reaction that there was a shot which originated from the front of the Presidential car?" Hill copped-out and replied, "No." (v. 2, p. 144)
50. *KLIF* Nov. 22, 1963
    WPAA-TV (PKT-24).
51. O'Donnell and Powers with McCarthy, *op. cit., p. 29 (PB)*
51-a. E.L. Boone, "Decker Exhibit No. 5323. 'Supplementary Investigation Report,' [dated Nov. 22, 1963],' within Dallas County Sheriff's Office record . . ." In Hearings, v. 19, p. 508.
52. Bobby W. Hargis, "Testimony of Bobby W. Hargis [dated April 8, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 6, p. 294.
53. Charles F. Brehm, *loc. cit.*
54. Jean L. Hill, "Testimony of Mrs. Jean Lollis Hill [dated March 24, 1964]
55. Interview with Jean L. Hill
55-a. Jean Hill, "Decker Exhibit No. 5323. 'Voluntary Statement [dated Nov. 22, 1963],' within Dallas County Sheriff's Office record . . ." in Hearings, v. 19, p. 479.
56. *KRLD*, Nov. 22, 1963 (survey prepared by the U.S. Air Force.)
57. James W. Altgens, *op. cit.*, v. 7, p. 518.
58. Hugh W. Betzner Jr., "Decker Exhibit No. 5323. 'Voluntary Statement [dated Nov. 22, 1963], within Dallas County Sheriff's Office record . . ." In Hearings, v. 19, p. 467.
59. James N. Crawford, *Commission Document*, No. 329, p. 22.
60. George A. Davis, "Commission Exhibit No. 1424. 'FBI report dated March 18, 1964, of interview with George A. Davis, at Dallas, Tex. (CD 897, p. 17)," In Hearings, v. 22, p. 837.
61. Austin L. Miller, "Testimony of Austin L. Miller [dated April 8, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 6, p. 225.
    The Warren Report devoted a sentence to Miller's observation, 'Austin L. Miller . . . heard three shots and thought that they came from the area of the Presidential limousine itself." (p. 76).

62. Billy J. Martin, "Testimony of B.J. Martin [dated April 3, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 6, p. 291.
Marrion L. Baker *op. cit.* v. 3, p. 245.
Mrs. Robert A. Reid, "Testimony of Mrs. Robert A. Reid [dated March 25, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 3, p. 273.
Arnold L. Rowland, "Testimony of Arnold Louis Rowland [dated March 10, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 2, p. 181.
Luke Mooney, "Testimony of Luke Mooney [dated March 25, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 3, p. 282.
James F. Romack, "Testimony of James Elbert Romack [dated April 8, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 6, p. 280.
A frame from the Muchmore film shows the coats of Ms. Hill and Ms. Moorman blowing in the wind (UPI, *Four Days*, p. 20).
63. Interview with Billy J. Martin.
64. Interview with Sen. Ralph W. Yarborough.
65. Charles Roberts, *The Truth About the Assassination*, p. 17. *The Texas Observer,* Nov. 29, 1963, p. 5.
Seth Kantor, "Kantor Exhibit, No. 3. Handwritten notes made by Seth Kantor concerning events surrounding the assassination,'" In Hearings, v. 20, p. 351. Manchester, *op. cit.,* p. 177 (PB).
65-a. Geraldo Rivera, "Good Night, America," ABC Television, March 27, 1975.
65-b. Chicago Sun-Times, 11-23-1963 page 14.
66. Elizabeth Cabell, "Testimony of Mrs. Earle Cabell [dated July 13, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 7, pp. 486-487.
When interviewed by Lawrence Schiller and Richard W. Lewis, Mrs. Cabell stated, ". . . we could smell the gunpowder." (Probe Label (Capital Records, Inc.), *The Controversy.*)
67. *Ibid.*, v. 7, p. 487.
68. Tom C. Dillard, *op. cit.,* v. 6, p. 165.
69. Virgie Rackley, Commission Document No. 5, pp. 66-67.
70. Joe M. Smith, "Testimony of Joe Marshall Smith [dated July 23, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 7, pp. 534-535.
Note: When interviewed by the FBI on Dec. 9, 1963, Smith denied this and claimed he smelled gunpowder in the parking lot by the depository (Commission Document No. 205 (SSID, JT), p. 310).

71. Earle V. Brown, "Testimony of Earle V. Brown [dated April 7, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 6, pp. 231-233. Commission Document No. 205, p. 311.
Another possible nose witness is nurse Bertha Lozano at Parkland Hospital who smelled smoke coming from Connally's stretcher as it was wheeled by. Connally's coat was later cleaned and pressed before the FBI received it as evidence.
72. Luke Mooney, "Testimony of Luke Mooney [dated March 25, 1964], In Hearings, v. 3, p. 289.
73. *Chicago Tribune,* Nov. 22, 1963, p. 9.
74. *New York Daily News*, Nov. 24, 1963, p. 100.
75. Bobby W. Hargis, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 294.
76. Billy J. Martin, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 292
77. Muchmore film.
78. Interview with James M. Chaney.
79. Interview with Stavis Ellis.
80. Interview with Douglas L. Jackson.
81. Willis photograph No. 5.
82. Seymour Weitzman, "Testimony of Seymour Weitzman [dated April 1, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 7, p. 107.
83. A doctor at Methodist Hospital identified it as a ". . . bone specimen that looked like it came from the occipital region of the skull." (Commission Document No. 1395).
84. Most of the press seemed to believe that Mrs. Kennedy's actions were those of a brave wife going for help. (Time, Dec. 6, 1963, pp. 33A, 33B).
U.F. Baughman, retired chief of the Secret Service, was asked about the Service's protective efforts in Dallas. In his reply, he said, "I can't understand why Mrs. Kennedy had to climb over the back of the car, as she did, to get help." He felt this question . . . "should be resolved." (U.S. News and World Report, Dec. 23, 1963, p. 38).
Mrs. Kennedy unsuccessfully tested David F. Powers on this area. Powers was in the follow-up car immediately behind the limousine. Apparently he failed to see the driver. "On Thanksgiving weekend after the President's funeral, when Dave was visiting Jackie and her children at Hyannis Port, he showed her the color pictures of herself on the back of the car taken at the scene by Abraham

Zapruder's movie camera and published in that week's *Life* . . ." 'Dave, what do you think I was trying to do?' she asked. Dave could only suggest that maybe she was searching for the President's doctor . . ." (Kenneth P. O'Donnell and David F. Powers with Joe McCarthy, "Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye," p. 29).

In her brief testimony before the Warren Commission (about 10 minutes), she said she didn't ". . . recall climbing out on the back of the car." (v. 5, p. 181). In this way, she avoided answering the obvious question of why she did climb out onto the trunk.

On the way Mrs. Kennedy testified, June 5, 1964, leaks from the Warren Commission to the press were sufficient to indicate that the investigation was complete. She told the Commission, ". . . I read the other day that is was the same shot that hit them both." (v. 5, p. 180). As with most important witnesses, she had read about the "lone assassin" as the official version. In effect, this curtailed spontaneous testimony.

The Warren Commission deleted her reference to wounds (v. 5, p. 180). The General Counsel for the Commission, in a letter of Dec. 10, 1964, explained the removal "as a matter of good taste and because it could contribute nothing to the inquiry." According to one source: "Warren deleted references to her husband's wounds from her story." (John D. Weaver, *Warren: the Man, the Court, the Era*, p. 330).

During a Commission meeting of Dec. 16, 1963, Commissioner John McCloy suggested that the Commission ought to question Mrs. Kennedy before her memory faded. He said, "She's got it very definitely in her mind now, and I'm told she's physically in a position where she can do it, but I don't have that at first hand. She may not be the chief witness as to who did the job. She's the chief witness as to how those bullets hit her husband." Chief Justice Warren replied, "I wonder if the report we get back from the Secret Service wouldn't pretty much clear that up. If it doesn't Good Lord, what can they report to us on, that will help us. They were there, right at the car, and know exactly what happened." (*Document Addendum*, "*op. cit.*, p. 55). As Epstein noted, "On June 5, Mrs. John F. Kennedy testified before the Chief Justice at her home. She was the last witness to testify on the assassination itself." (*Inquest*, p. 25).

Around January 1965, Mrs. Kennedy told Mary Gallagher to "be careful" about transportation in cars. She said, "You should get yourselves a good driver so that nothing ever happens to you." (Mary B. Gallagher, "My Life With Jacqueline Kennedy," p. 351). A caption in Ms. Gallagher's book of a group photograph at the White House mess refers to ". . . Roy H. Killerman [sic] . . ." (Ibid., photo section, un-paginated).

Mrs. Kennedy later sent William R. Greer, the driver of the presidential limousine, a handwritten note. It said, "For Bill Greer—whom the President loved, and who was with him until the very end. Thank you." (New York Times, July 2, 1966, p. 10).

Lyndon Johnson also believed that a good driver was important, and readily indicated the matter was both urgent and of great significance. According to Youngblood, "A few days after he became President, LBJ held a conference with me. 'I've got a lot of important things to do, Rufus, and I'm gonna assign one of the most important projects to you. Get Norman [Edwards, a Senate employee who Johnson had as a driver during his term there] for me. I need him as much as I need you and Lady Bird.'" [*Youngblood*, 20 Years, p. 154.].

In the wake of the assassination, the immediate government response has intensified security for officials. If exposed in public without adequate protection, officials might risk the danger of a lone, mentally unstable sniper, firing a rifle from a building.

Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy exploded that myth and symbolically said that no such danger had existed in Dallas. She was adamant about walking down the middle of the streets of Washington, D.C., in her husband's funeral procession, in broad daylight. Her attitude compelled a great many foreign leaders as well as U.S. officials to follow her.

Those now in power in the U.S government were petrified. The plotters had no idea whether or not this was part of a counter-coup and unsuccessfully tried to pressure her to change her mind. Efforts ". . . to get individual marchers into cars continued up to the last moment." (Manchester, *op. cit.*, p. 664 (PB)).

After the funeral, Mrs. Kennedy asked the chief usher of the White House: "Mr. West, did you see whether President Johnson

walked or not?" He replied he had watched Johnson and his wife walking. "'The Secret Service didn't want them to,' she smiled wanly." (J.B. West with Mary Lynn Kotz, "Upstairs at the White House," *Ladies Home Journal*, Sept. 1973, p. 60.)

85. Hill, *op. cit.*, v. 18, p. 742.
86. Zapruder frame number 330. A visible highlight on the front windshield appeared in front of the driver. Both men in the front seat appeared to be hunched over defensively.
    The authors sought to carefully examine and magnify this "highlight" to see if it was caused by a "sun flare" or if a bullet struck the windshield.
    The authors went to the trouble to test this theory by going to Dallas in 1970 and filming a car on Nov. 22 at the same time of day, using the same camera Zapruder used.
    We convinced ourselves that the damage to the windshield was caused by a bullet and not sunlight. And further, we convinced ourselves that this highlight was caused by tiny pieces of safety glass exploding from the impact of a bullet piercing the front windshield.
87. Charles Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
88. Ellis, *loc. cit.* also officer H.R. Freeman in a taped interview observed the same hole in the windshield and said "I was right next to it and could have touched it . . . I was that close . . . It was definitely a bullet hole just to the left of the driver".
89. Lyndal L. Shaneyfelt, "Shaneyfelt Exhibit No. 26, 'FBI report, dated July 17, 1964, concerning investigation into curb mark on Main Street in Dallas,'" In Hearings, v. 21, pp. 472-474.
    _____, "Shaneyfelt Exhibit No. 27. 'Letter from the FBI to the Commission, dated August 12, 1964, concerning investigation into curb mark on Main Street in Dallas,'" In Hearings, v. 21, pp. 475-477.
    Shaneyfelt, "Shaneyfelt Exhibit No. 29-30. 'Charts prepared by Lyndal L. Shaneyfelt showing location of curb mark on Main Street in Dallas,'" In Hearings, v. 21, pp. 478-480.
    Shaneyfelt, "Shaneyfelt Exhibit No. 34. 'Piece of curb containing lead markings removed from Main Street in Dallas,'" In Hearings, v. 21, p. 482.

According to Shaneyfelt, "These metal smears [on the curb] were spectrographically determined to be essentially lead with a trace of antimony. No copper was found . . .
"The absence of copper precludes the possibility that the mark on the curbing section was made by an unmutilated military full metal-jacket bullet such as the bullet from Governor Connally's stretcher." (Lyndal L. Shaneyfelt, "Testimony of Lyndal L. Shaneyfelt [dated Sept. 1, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 15, p. 700.

90. Greer, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 130.
91. Kellerman, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 74.
92. Martin Agronsky, "Interview with John B. Connally Jr., at Parkland Hospital," CBS, Nov. 27, 1963.
93. Dallas paper, Nov. 22, 1963.
94. Interview with Billy J. Martin
95. Interview with Douglas L. Jackson.
96. Marrion L. Baker, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 266.
97. Ralph W. Yarborough, "Affidavit of Ralph W. Yarborough [dated July 10, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 7, p. 440. Arlen Specter, memo of April 20, 1964, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
98. Interview with Joe H. Rich.
99. Elizabeth Cabell, *loc. cit.*
100. Dallas Morning News, Nov. 23, 1963, Sect. 1, p. 2.
101. Chicago Tribune, Nov. 23, 1963, p. 9.
102. Mary E. Woodward, Dallas Morning News, Nov. 23, 1963, p. 3. She was on the north side of Elm Street. William E. Newman Jr. was on the north side of Elm Street, halfway to the underpass. He said, "I've maintained that they stopped. I still say they did. It was only a momentary stop but . . ." (Interview with William F. Newman Jr.).
    Jean L. Hill, Dallas Times Herald, Nov. 22, 1963, p. A-19. Ms. Hill was on the south side of Elm Street, standing next to the limousine. Mary Ann Moorman, next to her, stated the same (see also v. 6, p. 209)
    To Charles F. Brehm, on the south side of Elm St., "It seemed . . . that the automobile almost came to a halt after the first shot . . ." ("Commission Exhibit No. 1425. 'FBI report dated November 25, 1963, of interview of Charles F. Brehm, Dallas, Texas (CD 5, pp. 28-9),'" In Hearings, v. 22, p. 838.

Roy S. Truly, "Testimony of Roy Sansom Truly [dated March 24, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 3, p. 221. Truly was on the southwest corner of Elm and Houston Streets. He described the limousine ". . . swerve to the left and stop . . ." Ochus V. Campbell, "Commission Exhibit No. 1435. 'FBI report dated November 24, 1963, interview of Ochus V. Campbell at Dallas, Texas (CD 5, p. 62),'" In Hearings, v. 22, p. 845. He was next to Truly.

Mrs. Phillip L. Willis, Commission Document No. 1245, p. 44. She was standing near Elm and Houston Streets, just below the peristyle. Hugh W. Betzner Jr., *loc. cit.* He was next to Mrs. Willis.

Peggy Joyce Hawkins, *loc. cit.* She was on the front steps of the depository and ". . . estimated that the president's car was less than 50 feet away from her when he was shot, that the car slowed down almost coming to a full stop . . ."

D.V. Harkness, "Testimony of D.V. Harkness [dated April 9, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 6, p. 309. He was on the northwest corner of Main and Houston Streets.

Mrs. Rose Clark, "Commission Exhibit No. 2100, 'FBI report dated Jan. 10, 1964, interview of Mrs. Rose Clark at Dallas, Texas (CD 329, p. 20),'" In Hearings, v. 24, p. 533. She was at the northeast corner of Main and Houston Streets in the Criminal Courts Building.

Mrs. Ruth M. Smith, Commission Document No. 206, p. 9. She was at the southeast corner of Main and Houston Streets, on the second floor of the Old Courthouse.

One witness in the courthouse building said, "The cavalcade stopped there and there was bedlam." Dallas Times Herald, Nov. 24, 1963.

Peggy Burney, Dallas Times Herald, Nov. 23, 1963, she was on Main Street, one-third the distance from Houston Street, near the underpass.

J.W. Foster, Commission Document No. 897, pp. 20-21. This officer was on the triple underpass, directly over Elm Street. He stated, "Immediately after President Kennedy was struck . . . the car in which he was riding pulled to the curb . . ."

David Proeder said, "The President's car paused momentarily, then on orders from a Secret Service agent, spurted ahead." (Washington Evening Star, Nov. 23, 1963, p. 8).

Maurice Orr, who stood on the North side of Elm Street between lamp posts, noted that the motorcade stopped. Arch Kimbrough, Mary Ferrell and Sue Fitch, Cronology (unpublished).

Earle V. Brown, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 233. Officer Brown was on the highway overpass and ". . . first . . . noticed the car . . . when it stopped."

Harry D. Holmes, "Testimony of Harry D. Holmes [dated April 2, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 7, p. 291. He was in the Post Office Building, two blocks away from the plaza, on the fifth floor.

103. Newsweek, Dec. 2, 1963, p. 2.
104. Time, Nov. 29, 1963, p. 23.
105. UPI, "Four Days," p. 16.
106. Interview with Marrion L. Baker.
107. Harkness, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 309.
108. Dallas Morning News, Nov. 23, 1963, Sect. 1, p. 2.
109. John D. Ready, "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. '[Statement dated Nov. 22, 1963],' within Letter . . ." In Hearings, v. 18, p. 749.
110. Newsweek, Dec. 2, 1963, p. 21.
111. Kellerman, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 74.
112. The driver of the lead car, Dallas Police Chief Jesse F. Curry, and the passenger in the right rear, agent Forrest V. Sorrels, did not acknowledge it. Dallas Sheriff J.F. Decker, in the left, rear seat, was not asked.

Agent Winston G. Lawson, in the right front seat of the lead car, was unclear. He claimed (1) he heard a report over a "radio" or "two-way radio" to go to the nearest hospital without specifying what radio, from whom, during or after the shooting (v. 17, pp. 628, 629, 632); and (2) recalled Hill on the back of the limousine "receiving a radio message" and a motorcycle officer giving the lead car a message (v. 4, p. 353). Lawson claimed the events in his mind were "a little jumbled." (v. 4, p. 353).

The same network that linked the lead car and the limousine—"Charlie Radio"—included the Presidential follow-up car (Kellerman, v. 2, p. 68; Lawson, v. 17, pp. 609-610). Agent

Emory P. Roberts, in the right front seat of the presidential follow-up car, stated "Upon seeing the President shot, I radioed Lawson to escort us to the nearest hospital . . ." (Roberts, v. 18, pp. 739, 735). His action was supported by agent William T. McIntyre, on the left rear running board of the same car (McIntyre, v. 18, p. 747), Roberts' statement was also upheld by agent Jerry D. Kivett in the Vice President's follow-up car, also tuned to "Charlie Radio" frequency (Kivett, v. 18, p. 778). Youngblood in the Vice-President's car quotes Roberts as saying to Lawson, "The President's been hit! Get us to a hospital, fast but safe! (Youngblood, "20 Years," pp. 113, 114.) Photographic verification of Roberts' activity during the shooting is in an Altgens' picture (Fig. 3-3), taken approximately three seconds after the first shot. Kellerman looks toward the left front while Roberts appears to have a microphone in his mouth.
Roberts also radioed to the Vice President's follow-up car: "They got him, they got him." (Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 139.).

114. Greer, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 131.
115. Interview with Eugene Newman.
116. "Commission Exhibit No. 900. 'Photographic exhibit of photograph taken by AP photographer at time of the assassination and photograph taken from the same position at time of reenactment,'" In Hearings, v. 18, p. 93.
117. Forrest V. Sorrels, "Testimony of Forrest V. Sorrels [dated May 7, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 7, p. 345. Lawson, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 354.
118. Dallas Police Department, "Commission Exhibit No. 705. 'Channel 1' within Radio logs for November 22, 1963 [dated March 23, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 17, p. 461.
119. New York Times, June 15, 1961, p. 26.
120. Dallas Police Department, "Commission Exhibit No. 705. 'Channel 1 . . ." In Hearings, v. 17, p. 395.
Dallas Police Department, "Commission Exhibit No. 705. 'Channel 2' within Radio logs . . ." In Hearings, v. 17, p. 462.
Sawyer J. Herbert, "Sawyer Exhibit A. 'Copy of a report to Chief Jesse F. Curry, dated Dec. 3, 1963, containing an edited transcript of Channel 2 transmissions from the Dallas police radio log for Nov. 22, 1963,'" In Hearings, v. 21, p. 391.

Sawyer J. Herbert, "Sawyer Exhibit B. 'Copy of a report to Chief Jesse F. Curry, dated Dec. 5, 1963, containing an edited transcript of Channel 1 transmissions from the Dallas police radio log for Nov. 22, 1963,'" In Hearings, v. 21, p. 398: "12:28 p.m. Mike stuck open. Remained stuck open until approximately 12:38 p.m."
"Commission Exhibit No. 1974. 'FBI report dated Aug. 11, 1964, at Dallas, Texas, of transcripts of Dallas police radio transmissions covering period of Nov. 22-24, 1963 (CD 1420),'" In Hearings, v. 23, pp. 840, 841, 902, 913.
Calvin B. Owens, "Testimony of Calvin Bud Owens [dated April 9, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 7, p. 79.

121. "Commission Document No. 87" (SS Control No. 324, p. 1).
122. J. Edgar Hoover, Letter to J. Lee Rankin, dated Aug. 21, 1964.
123. Bell film.
124. Clinton J. Hill, "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. 'The assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963, at Dallas, Texas [dated Nov. 30, 1963],' within Letter . . ." In Hearings v. 18, p. 742.
125. Bell film.
126. ell film.
Nix film.
Altgens' photograph No. 8.
127. The Warren Report claimed that Secret Service agents in the motorcade ". . . remained at their posts . . . None stayed at the scene . . ." (p. 52). The report did not explain the activities of all the local Secret Service agents.
128. Joe M. Smith, *op. cit.*, v. 7, p. 535.
129. Interview with Joe M. Smith.
130. Thomas L. Johns, "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. 'Statement regarding events in Dallas, Texas, on Friday, Nov. 22, 1963 [dated Nov. 29, 1963],' within Letter . . ." In Hearings, v. 18, p. 774. Johns hitched a ride to Parkland Hospital in the 15th car in the motorcade (John B. Hoefan, NBC News, Nov. 22, 1963, 1:50 p.m.).
131. D.V. Harkness, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 312.
132. Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
Thomas J. Kelley, "Commission Exhibit No. 2060. 'Secret Service report dated Nov. 29, 1963, covering third interview with Oswald

and circumstances immediately following his murder (CD 87, SS control No. 177, Exhibit A, pp. 1-4),'" In Hearings, v. 24, p. 479.

133. Lee E. Bowers Jr., "Testimony of Lee F. Bowers Jr. [dated April 2, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 6, p. 286.
134. Seymour Weitzman, "Testimony of Lee F. Bowers Jr. [dated April 2, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 7, p. 107.
135. Interview with Billy J. Martin.
136. Interview with Earle V. Brown.
137. Perdue W. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, v. 7, p. 586.
138. See Map I.
Smith's version varies. In 1966, he said he was ". . . in clear view . . ." of the Presidential limousine, and had seen the president ". . . slide from view . . ." (Los Angeles Times, Nov. 13, 1966, Section F, p. 9). At another time, he said, "I looked ahead at the President's car but could not see him or his companion, Gov. John B. Connally of Texas." (Timothy G. Smith (ed.), "Merriman Smith's Book of Presidents: A White House Memoir," p. 206.)
According to Jack Bell of AP, who was in the back of the car:
As we turned . . . there was a loud crack as if a giant firecracker had gone off. The motorcade slowed. There was another explosion . . . We saw nothing. The President's limousine, which had descended into the approach of an underpass, was blocked from our view by the intervening vehicles, and by people who had surged into the street as it passed . . . None of us knew what had happened other than three shots had been fired, we supposed at the motorcade. We had no idea that anyone had been hit or that the Secret Service was speeding the President away . . ." (Jack Bell "The Wrestling Match for the Scoop of the Century," Publishers Promotion Agency, v. 19, No. 21, Nov. 25, 1973, p. 10).
139. Manchester, *op. cit.*, v. 7, p. 191-192 (PB).
Manchester noted, "Smith was not as astute a reporter as he seemed. Despite extensive experience with weapons he had thought the sounds in the plaza were three shots from an automatic weapon . . ." (Ibid., p. 191.)
140. Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 110
Smith was known to rip out the only phone in an area so to retain his story (Ibid.).

141. Manchester, *op. cit.*, p. 217 (PB).
141-a. "Commission Document No. 5, p. 36.
"Commission Documents No. 486.
141-b. Jean Hill, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 221.
Interview with Jean Hill. She said they claimed to have watched the assassination from the court house window.
142. John B. Mayo, "Bulletin from Dallas," p. 142.
According to Smith, "Telephones were at a premium in the hospital and I clung to mine for dear life." (Timothy G. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 208.).
143. Seth Kantor, "Kantor Exhibit No. 4. 'Notes typed from a tape recording made by Seth Kantor concerning President Kennedy's trip to Texas, Nov. 21-22, 1963,'" In Hearings, v. 20, p. 410.
144. Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, v. 7, p, 201 (PB).
Smith, in his book, "The Good New Days," dated the "New People" as a type going back to the thirties: "The New People, hot-eyed, curious but unconcerned with protocol, and yeasty with shocking ideas, began swarming into town with FDR when he first was elected president." (p. 19). He described President Kennedy as ". . . perhaps the loneliest, most perturbed N.P. of all . . ." (p. 184). He said, "Kennedy in the foreseeable future faces having to ignore the right [to be wrong] . . . In the 1960s and for some years thereafter, a President must be right in a thermonuclear world where the ordinary privilege of being wrong, if exercised, might dispose of our problems quite permanently. The President's right must be that of Lincoln and the Lord [justice and good]. His left can be a little more than a border." (p. 184).
145. Timothy G. Smith (ed.), "Merriman Smith's Book of Presidents: A White House Memoir," p. 225.
Smith said, "We've shared some terrible moments. A Secret Service agent once came to me months after Dallas and said he still suffered from horrible nightmares in which he would relive the assassination scene. He was losing sleep and weight and, he was afraid, his nerves. I told him that the same thing had finally gone to a psychiatrist about the problem." (Ibid., p. 234-5).
146. New York Times, April 14, 1970, p. 47.
147. Stephen White, "Should We Now Believe the Warren Report," p. 49-50.

148. Commission Document, No. 205, p. 34.
149. Commission Document, No. 7, p. 31.
150. Commission Document, No. 735, p. 8.
151. "Decker Exhibit No. 5323. 'This is a list of witnesses interviewed by W.I. Trantham 340 DPD,' within Dallas Country Sheriff's Office record . . ." In Hearings, v. 19, p. 517.
152. Commission Document, No. 5, p. 52.
153. J.C. White, "Testimony of J.C. White [dated April 9, 1964]," In Hearings, v. 6, pp. 254, 255.
Commission Document, No. 897, p. 19.

Chapter Four

The Filmed Assassination

How the Key Movie of the Murder Was Altered

The most important film of the murder was an 8mm color movie taken by Abraham Zapruder. The Secret Service had gained first access to his original film, which was then altered in an attempt to cover up the agency's part in the plot.

Zapruder stood midway between the depository and the underpass[1] and filmed the Presidential limousine continuously from the time it turned the corner of Elm and Houston Streets until it reached the triple underpass. His un-tampered film recorded what occurred inside the vehicle.

A number of copies of the Zapruder film, whose clarity ranged from excellent to poor, including the films and slides at Life magazine and those at the National Archives, were made available to the authors of this book. Each copy was carefully examined. This chapter deals with the results of that study.

There are 486 frames in the film. In describing the Zapruder film, we refer to numbers assigned to each frame in consecutive order.[2]

Description

The Presidential limousine first appears at frame 133, at a point in the street opposite the center of the depository.[3] The President, seated in the

back on his right, is waving to the crowd with his right hand. He is hidden from camera view by a freeway sign beginning at frame 203, and is shot in the throat at approximately frame 207. When he reappears from behind the sign at frame 225, his mouth is open and his hands are raised to his throat. From this point, he starts to lean forward, and to his left, until frame 313, when a bullet impacts his head.

Beginning with frame 305, the driver turns around, one hand on the wheel, and faces the President,[4] at which point the President's head is struck by the fatal bullet.

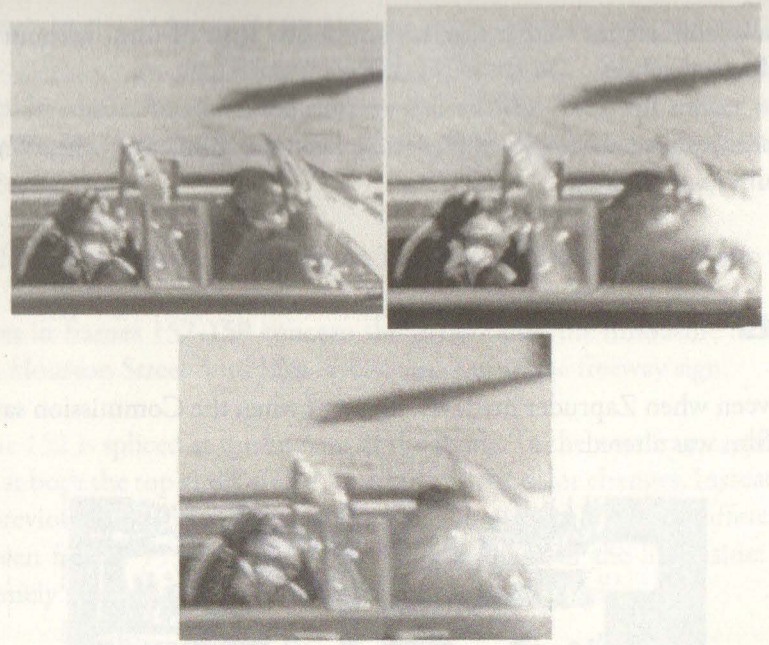
Between frames 313 and 323, the President is slammed backward by the impact of the shot. Between frames 323 and 340, he falls forward and to his left into his wife's lap.

Mrs. Kennedy scrambles out of the limousine over the trunk between frames 345 and 375. Her bodyguard, Clinton J. Hill, touches the back of the limousine at frame 345, placing his foot on the car at frame 371, to assist her.

When Gov. Connally reappears from behind the freeway sign at frame 223, he looks to his right. Then he begins to turn his head forward. Between frames 227 and 230, he raises his hat[4-a] up-and-down in reaction to the shots. At frame 233, he starts to raise his left forearm and to turn to his right again. The Governor's mouth is open. Between frames 255 and 292, he continues to turn his head to the right, exposing his back to the front seat, until he looks at the President. At frame 285, he is shot. His wife then pulls him backward.

After the fatal shot to the President at frame 313, the Governor begins to pull himself up, placing his right hand on the metal handhold on the top of the back of the front seat. At frame 323, he is sitting up, looking into the front seat.

A visible conical flare emanates from where Gov. Connally was into the windshield of the limousine at frame 330 as a result of another shot. (Fig. 4-1)



[FIGURE 4-1. WINDSHIELD SHOT.]

Authentication

An FBI photographic expert numbered each frame of the Zapruder film for the Warren Commission. The first frame of the motorcade sequence was number "1" and the following frames were counted in order.[5]

In its published record of the film, the Commission printed black-and-white photographs of frames 171 through 334. This is right before the limousine disappears behind the freeway sign until just before Mrs. Kennedy begins to climb out of the back seat.[6]

The same numbering was used for those available copies of the Zapruder film the authors examined. Each copy was placed on a viewer that allowed every frame to be seen and counted individually.

The examined copies agreed with the published version. For example, frame 171 was identical to the published frame 171. The head shot at frame 313 in the copies was the same as frame 313 printed by the Commission.

All available copies were a single, continuous strip of film, without any mechanical splices.

In sum, those available copies matched the film that the Warren Commission viewed.

The original Zapruder film, however, seems to be unavailable.

Cuts

Between when Zapruder made his film and when the Commission saw it, the film was altered.

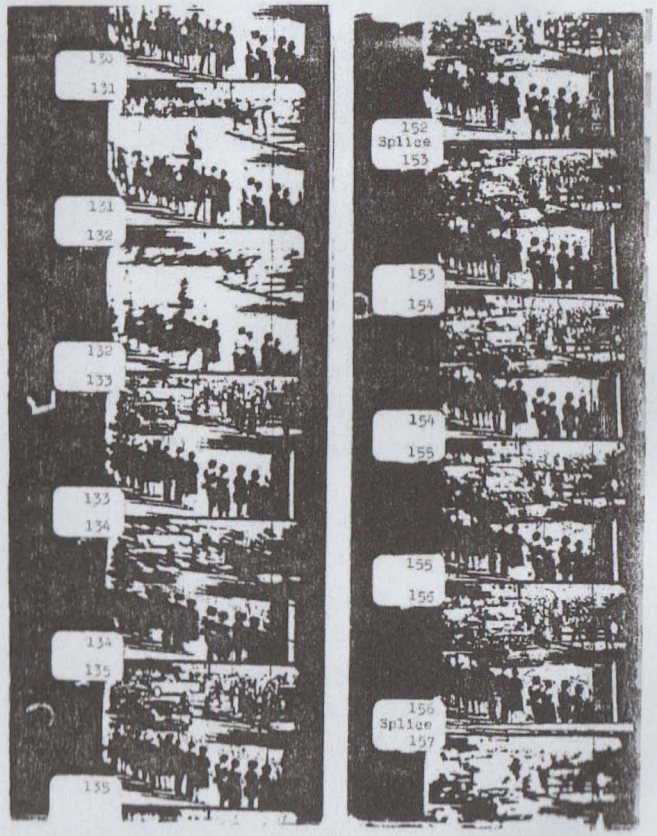


Fig. 4-3

[FIGURE 4-2. EXAMPLES OF SPLICES DRAWN FROM THE ALTERED ZAPRUDER FILM]

Available copies we examined showed splices (Fig. 4-2). All splices were photographic, i.e., the mechanical splices of the original were copied onto the duplicates.[7]

The following is an inventory of our study:

Splices in frames 152-159 concern the period after the limousine turned from Houston Street onto Elm Street, and before the freeway sign.

Frame 152 is spliced at the bottom of the frame. In the next frame, splices exist at both the top and bottom. In addition, the color changes. Instead of the previous warm color, the frames have a bluish cast. The great difference between frames 153 and 152 is in the movement of the limousine: It's extremely rapid-forward lurch indicates frames are missing.

Frame 154 has a splice at the top and is bluish in cast. Frame 155 contains a splice at the top third of a frame. Splicing tape marks are present in the foreground of frame 156, which is also bluish; a crude splicing gap appears at the base Fig. 4-2. Examples of splices drawn from the altered Zapruder film.

The next sequence in which splicing and color change occur is when the limousine is hidden by the freeway sign.

A possible splice exists in the top eights of frame 205. Splicing tape adhesive marks are visible on the freeway sign in frame 206. Frame 205 has a bluish case, as do frames 207-212.

Frame 207 is spliced at the top. A splice may have been made on frame 210 near the bottom. On frame 211, splicing adhesive tape marks are present. Splicing adhesive covers frame 212; a crude cut is at the base. Frame 213 has a splice at the top; the color changes back to warm hues. At frame 215, a splice line runs across the top fourth of the frame.

Color changes indicate different copies of the film were used to produce one continuous film.[8 8-a]

A graph of the distance the limousine traveled per frame number indicates it moved about 20 feet every 20 frames (Graph not available). Between frames 197 and 218, when the limousine was behind the freeway sign, it moved only 10 feet within 21 frames. This means the limousine either slowed down or stopped between frames 197 and 218. If it stopped, then an unaccountable number of frames could have been removed.

Throughout the entire Zapruder film, nothing indicates frames have been added. What is clear is frames have been removed. Time has been deleted from the film. With time removed, the film is useless as a clock for the assassination.

Retouching

Retouching was done with the image of the driver between frames 214-333. It appears after the limousine emerges from behind the freeway sign. Retouching is evident on the front of the limousine windshield on the driver's side to obscure his movements. The authors' reconstruction of the film, taken of a car on Elm Street under similar lighting conditions, on November 22, 1969, at 12:30 p.m., shows the driver's motions clearly through the windshield.

Retouching may also occur at the top of the freeway sign to obscure the actions of the occupants and to hide the shot hitting the President in the throat.

The object in the driver's left hand is barely visible between frames 285-297, the sequence of the Governor's wounds. Between frames 303-317, it is easily seen. The telling feature, especially in the latter sequences, is the action: the driver raises it, seems to aim, and then, in the frame immediately after the fatal shot to the President in frame 313, brings it down.

Although splicing marks were undetectable about frame 313, it is likely frames were removed and the remaining retouched. The appearance of frame 313 is vital to the scenario.

Given the forward inclination of the President's head at the time of the fatal shot (Fig. 4-5), a line drawn through the actual point of entrance and

exit is horizontal. If a rifleman fired from above and behind, then the line between the points of exit and entrance would be at an angle.

To camouflage evidence of a shot from the front, the actual exit wound on the right, rear side of the head (Fig. 4-3) was masked to hide the damaging exit of the bullet (Fig. 4-4).

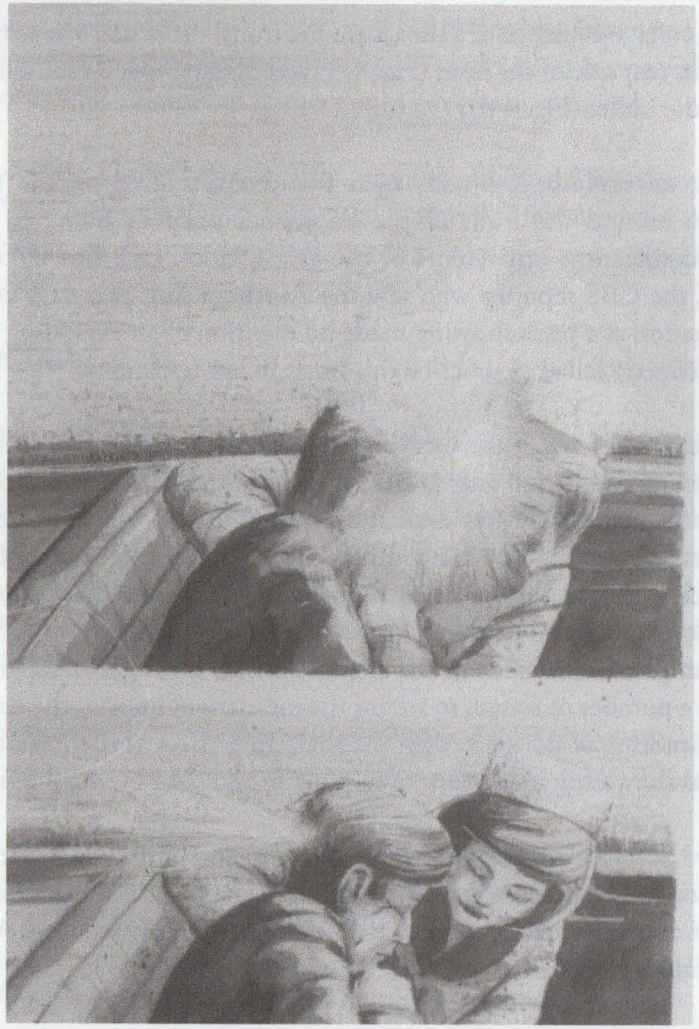
Second, an exploding, bloody halo was manufactured on the film in the area around the front of the President's scalp in frame 313 (Fig. 4-4). Significantly, other films of the assassination lack this halo.[9] Dan Rather, the CBS reporter who saw the Zapruder film two days after the assassination at a press showing made no mention of an exploding head.[10] Mrs. Kennedy failed to describe this burst in her testimony.[11]

The halo, a cartoon-like, red-orange burst that nearly obscures the President's head,[12] not only confuses the features of the head, but also distorts the actual and less dramatic wounding (Fig. 4-3). Furthermore, the burst occurs for one frame only—an eighteenth of a second—and does not appear in the very next frame. The film should have shown the burst developing and decaying over a sequence of perhaps 18-30 frames. For example, a film made of the effect of a rock hitting a window would require a number of frames to record the moment of impact, the spidering and splintering of the glass, then the shattering effect of the rock, and the outward showering movement of fragments and their eventual descent.

The two Secret Service agents in the front seat and both the Governor and Mrs. Connally implied a shot came from the rear by claiming a substantial amount of debris came forward and down on them.[13] No pictorial evidence verifies their claims.

Retouching can be seen in a comparison of frames 317 and 321. The President and his wife appear large in frame 321, even though the dimensions of the two frames are equal in size. Frame 321 was optically enlarged and then reframed. This eliminated material at the right hand side of the picture, such as the driver and the windshield. In addition, it is possible in frame 321 the windshield was painted-in; it fails to match the windshield in frame 317. In addition, a change in perspective occurs. The line in the back seat in frame 321 has shifted.

Fig. 4-3. Sketch of the actual wounding with the bullet entering the left temple and exiting the right rear side of the head.



[FIGURE 4-3 Zapruder Film, as released, shows huge explosion that obscures actual effect of fatal shot. (artist rendition)

[FIGURE 4-4. Actual effect would appear much like sketch with bullet entering left temple and exiting right side on back of head.]

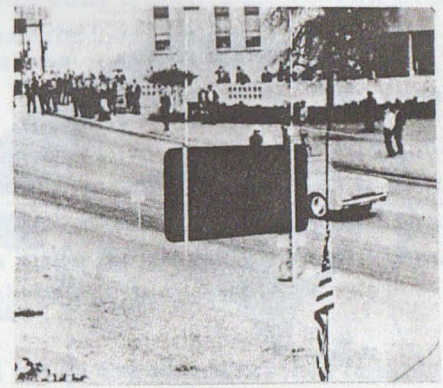


Fig. 4-7. A still photo from Zapruder's position during the Secret Service reenactment on Dec. 5, 1963. Sign has been moved to the right and raised. Angle to the camera has also been changed.

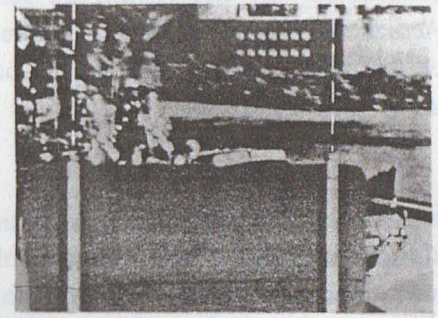


Fig. 4-8. Drawing based on altered Zapruder film frame 207. Sign has probably been retouched to cover up most of the occupants in the limousine.

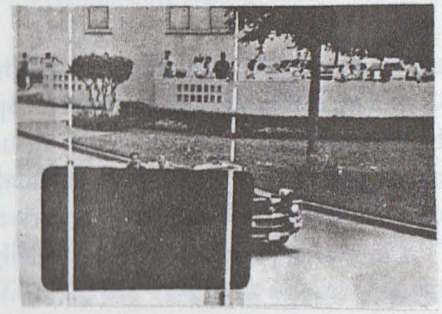
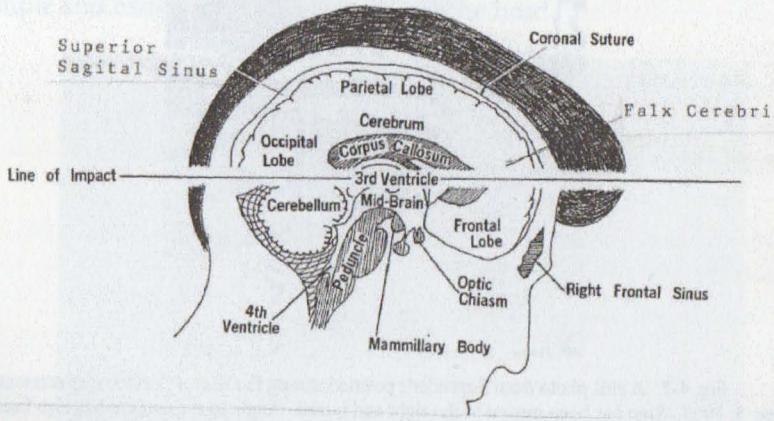


Fig. 4-9. Still photo from FBI/Warren Commission reenactment of May 24, 1964. Sign has been moved back to approximately where it was on Nov. 22, 1963. Note how much of the JFK stand-in is visible over the sign (compare with Fig. 4-8).

Fig. 4-7. Overlay of frame 317 with frame 321 indicates frame. This means the limousine has gone further down the street and an unknown number of frames were deleted.[14]



[FIGURE 4-5. Actual effect would appear much like sketch with bullet entering left temple and exiting right side on back of head.]

Re-filming

More evidence of tampering is indicated with the framing of the pictures, especially between frames 280-300. There, the heads of both the President and Connally scarcely appear, and almost disappear from view. This means the original film was probably re-filmed, and re-framed, so to remove certain material just below their heads.

For example, on the afternoon of November 24, 1963, two days after the assassination, CBS newsman Dan Rather viewed a copy of the Zapruder film in Dallas. His report noted Connally, as he turned to look back at the President, ". . . exposed his entire shirt front and chest because his coat was unbuttoned . . . at that moment a shot very clearly hit that part of the Governor."[15] On available copies, only Connally's head appears in this sequence.

The possibility exists the original Zapruder film was re-filmed on an optical printer. Modern cinematography laboratories are equipped with optical printing machines to generate a new negative without the "errors" of the original. Optical printers can insert new frames, skip frames, reside

the images, along with other creative illusions. One hour on the optical printer could eliminate the Connally hit.[16]

Deletions

Most available copies, when viewed on a screen as a movie, are slightly jerky, especially in the movement of the limousine. Perhaps the maximum number of cuts was made, the greatest number of frames was removed, without making it obvious to the casual viewer.

Certain items could not be altered, such as the President's head and body snapping backwards without elaborate artwork. But the cuts are overcome in the way people see the movie. The viewer's focus is usually on the President, not on the other people in the limousine.

Some of the action on the film that was difficult to explain had to be eliminated.

First, the limousine initially appears on available copies some 40 feet down from the top of the street; it literally leaps into view. Yet Zapruder stated he filmed the limousine as it turned onto Elm Street from Houston Street.[17] The copy Dan Rather saw two days after the assassination apparently included the turn on it because he had described it.[18]

Frames deleted between 152-159 probably showed the decoy shot being fired from the Vice-President's follow-up car.

Cuts between frames 205-215 likely relate to two areas: reaction to the decoy (first) shot, and the second (throat) shot.

Between frames 207-212, the President seems to swing his head very quickly to his left as if in reaction to the decoy shot. His action would indicate the location of the Secret Service agent's revolver as well as sharply contrast with the lack of reaction by those agents in the front seat of the Presidential limousine.

The President's reaction to the second shot, which hit him in the throat, is missing. Zapruder testified, ". . . I heard the first shot and I saw the

President lean over and grab himself like this (holding his left chest area)".[19] CBS reporter Dan Rather said ". . . the President lurched forward just a bit, it was obvious he had been hit in the movie . . ."[20]

The Commission, which received the film from the Secret Service, published frames 207 and 212, both obviously spliced, but failed to print frames 208-211.[21]

The alterations after the fatal shot were probably concerned with eliminating the limousine stop and the rush by Secret Service agents upon it. Indeed, the Secret Service made an effort ". . . to ascertain whether any [movie news] film could be found showing special agents on the ground alongside the Presidential automobile at any point along the parade route."[22]

Film Confiscation

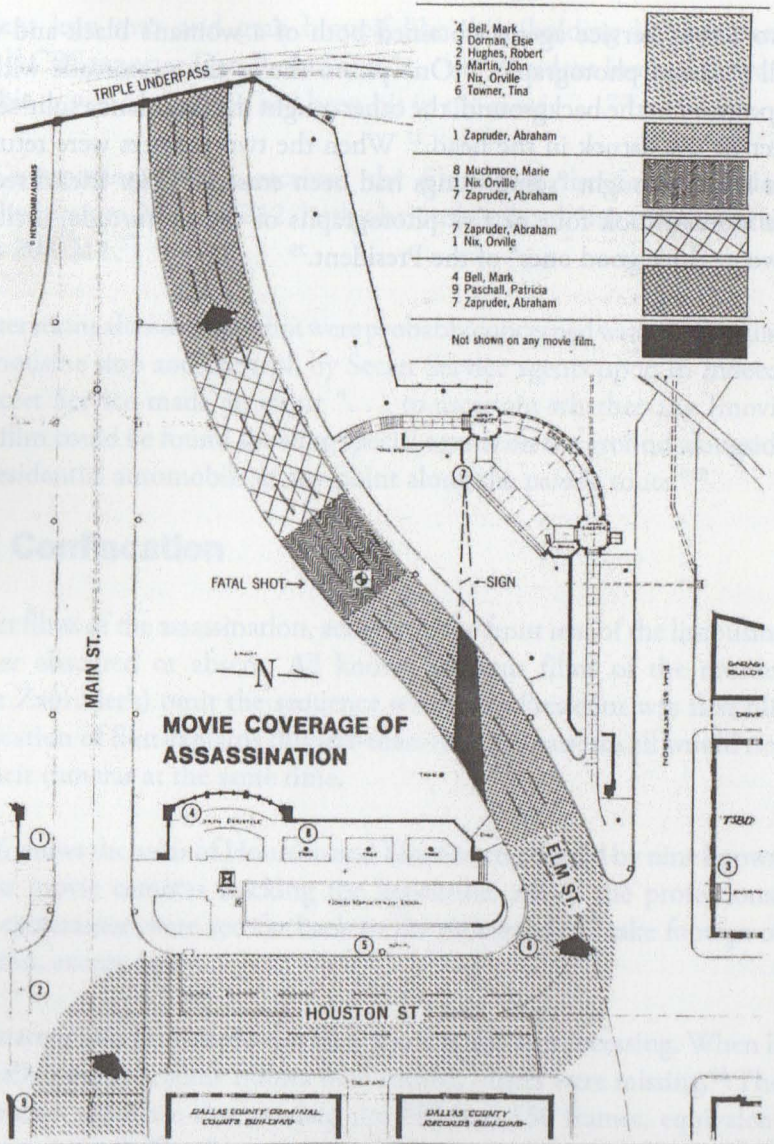
In other films of the assassination, activity in the front seat of the limousine is either obscured or absent. All known amateur films of the murder (except Zapruder's) omit the sequence where the President was first hit. Confiscation of film explains this less-than-random pattern; all would not stop their cameras at the same time.

Fig. 4-6 shows the areas of Houston and Elm Streets covered by nine known amateur movie cameras tracking the limousine. All of the professional movie cameramen were too far back in the motorcade to take footage of the action, except one.

One amateur said his 8 mm color film was lost during processing. When it was finally returned, some frames were ruined, others were missing.[23] The assassination sequence that reached the FBI had 150 frames, equivalent to eight seconds.[24] The limousine was in the amateur's view for some 20 seconds, not including the time it was stopped.

Another amateur's 8mm color movie film contained 66 frames of the assassination, Fig. 4-6. Film coverage approximately three and one-half seconds.[25]

Two Secret Service agents obtained both of a woman's black-and-white still Polaroid photographs.[26] One photo shows the motorcade with the depository in the background; the other caught the President a split-second after he was struck in the head.[27] When the two pictures were returned, her friend thought "some things had been erased."[28] Her friend recalled the woman took four or five photographs of the motorcade, including "two or three good ones" of the President.[29]



[FIGURE 4-6 FILM COVERAGE]

A man turned his photographs over to a Secret Service agent who kept them for about one month before returning them.[30] Retouching is apparent on a 35mm colored slide he took about the time of the first shot.[31]

James W. Altgens, a professional photographer, took his still black-and-white photographs back to his office at The Associated Press, had the film processed, and put it on the wire.[32] The Secret Service was unable to intercept these.

Altgens snapped four photos of the limousine as it approached Main and Houston Streets and turned left onto Houston Street heading for the depository building. Then, he ran down across the grass triangle in the center of Dealey Plaza and into the sparsely populated assassination zone. Directly across from the grassy knoll, where Zapruder was filming, Altgens stepped from the curb and took a photograph of the approaching limousine approximately midway in the execution (Fig. 3-3). Returning to the curb, he snapped another one of the limousine when it was two or three car-lengths past him (Fig. 2-2). These professional quality photos are the clearest taken of the limousine on Elm Street.

Altgens moved approximately 240 feet from Main and Houston Streets to snap his Elm Street photograph of the limousine in mid-assassination. The limousine traveled approximately 330 feet during this time. These distances give some indication of the low speed of the motorcade.

A professional movie cameramen was referred to by an ABC news director during a TV broadcast. The director said:

A TV newsreel man was following in a car just behind the President motorcade and at that particular moment had the President in the frame of his camera. He had it on close-up and he was panning from the Texas Library building [sic] . . . As soon as he saw the President fall . . . he then panned up and he said . . . "If I have on film what I saw through the eye of my camera, I have the complete assassination." At that particular point . . . he was picked up by a Secret Serviceman. The Secret Service impounded the film; it was allegedly 16mm color.[33]

No such film has been located. Such professional quality film would show not only activity in the limousine, but also an empty "sniper's nest".[34]

Getting the Zapruder Film

How did the Secret Service acquire Zapruder's film?

After Zapruder finished filming, he returned to his office and asked his secretary ". . . to call the police or the Secret Service."[35] Then he went to his desk where he waited ". . . until the police came and then were required to get a place to develop the film."[36]

An inspector with the Dallas Police Department was notified about Zapruder's film. A sergeant told him Zapruder refused to give the police the film and was waiting for either the Secret Service or the FBI. The inspector sent the sergeant, with two other men, to bring Zapruder and his movie to him. Instead, the sergeant reported back Forrest V. Sorrels of the Secret Service was with Zapruder. The inspector then told his men to go about their usual assignments because ". . . since Forrest was already there and talking to him [Zapruder], I knew that that part would be taken care of."[37]

Sorrels first learned about the film from a crime reporter for the Dallas Morning News.[38] According to Sorrels, Zapruder ". . . agreed to furnish me with a copy of this film with the understanding that it was strictly for official use of the Secret Service . . ."[39]

Sorrels went to the Dallas Morning News in mid-afternoon.[40] He found the newspaper was unable to develop the film, but did learn the Eastman Kodak Company in Dallas could do so.[41]

The Kodak Film Processing Laboratory received ". . . one 8mm Kodachrome II Film . . ." on Nov. 22, and claimed they returned it unaltered to Zapruder. Kodak perforated the identification number 0183 at the ". . . end of the processed film and carrier strip [leader] . . ."[42]

Sorrels may have advised Zapruder to have three copies made of the film. Kodak was unable to do so. The Jamieson Film Company of Dallas, however, could make copies if the 8mm film was in its original form as a 25-foot roll of 16mm (8mm is made by dividing the 16mm and splicing

the two 25-foot rolls together). Zapruder, therefore, had Kodak process the film without splitting it, then took it to Jamieson.[43]

Jamieson also received the film on Nov. 22. The company asserted the film remained unaltered during the printing operation. Zapruder received three duplicate copies with the identification number 0183 at the end of the original film, printed onto the three duplicates.[44]

Zapruder returned to Kodak where he had the three duplicates processed and developed. They were given the identification numbers 0185, 0186 and 0187.[45] What happened to 0184 is unclear.

Zapruder then had a total of four films, one original and three duplicates. He said he gave Sorrels two copies. Sorrels kept one and another was rushed to Washington, D.C., on Nov. 22, by Army plane.[46] Yet, according to a note of transmittal from a Secret Service agent to Secret Service Chief Rowley in Washington, D.C., the disposition was different. The agent stated, "Mr. Zapruder is in custody of the 'master' film. Two prints were given to SAIC Sorrels, this date. The third print is forwarded."[47]

Also on Friday evening, Nov. 22, Sorrels did a frame-by-frame study of the Zapruder film in his Dallas office. According to Dallas Postal Inspector Harry D. Holmes who was present, ". . . we thumbed [through] that thing for an hour or more . . . push[ing] it up one frame at a time."[48]

The next day, Nov. 23, Sorrels gave a copy to a Secret Service inspector who, at a later date, loaned it to the FBI. The FBI returned it to the inspector, who gave it to Sorrels for the Dallas office of the Secret Service.[49]

The FBI was dependent upon the Secret Service for a copy of the film, which it then duplicated for its examination.[50] The Secret Service retained the film until the altered version was prepared.

Life

On Nov. 23, 1963, Zapruder made an agreement with Life magazine.[51] Two days later, he asked Life to acknowledge receipt of the original and

one copy.[52] He wrote the Secret Service had the other two copies, one in Dallas and one in Washington, D.C.[53]

When did Life acquire physical possession of the film? On Nov. 29, 1963, Life printed some frames. But it only talked of a ". . . series of pictures . . . ;" it failed to mention it was a movie and also the name of the man who made it.[54]

There are two indications Life was not in possession of the film. First, the lack of clarity in its reproduction suggests a copy. Second, the magazine enjoyed a reputation for its color printing. The film was in color, but Life's reproduction was in black-and-white.[55]

In its memorial issue of Dec. 13, 1963, Life printed colored reproductions of the film and mentioned "a Dallas clothing manufacturer . . . [took] pictures with his 8mm home movie camera; it is from his film that these pictures are taken."[56] Yet, three days later, the Warren Commission only saw a series of still photographs made from the film.[57] It was not until Feb. 25, 1964, that Life showed its version of the film to the Commission.[58]

It is likely the Secret Service sanctioned what frames could be printed between 1963 and September 1964, when the Commission issued its report. In the Oct. 2, 1964 issue of Life, which covered the Warren Commission's report, frame sprockets are missing on the cover and eight frames featured inside.[59]

The Oct. 2, 1964, issue of Life appeared in at least six versions.[60] Frame 313, with the bursting head, appeared in color in three of the six versions.

Chairman Warren displayed his advance knowledge of the head burst before the Commission on Dec. 16, 1963. "There's another sequence which they [Life] did not include," he said, "and it shows the burst of blood and things from his head, blown out."[61] This seemed to be the earliest date when certain knowledge was expressed about the manufactured head burst. This frame was not printed in Life until Oct. 2, 1964. Dan Rather, who saw the film in Dallas two days after the assassination, did not mention this dramatic burst. In addition, other movie films of this same sequence lack it.

At what point did Life realize it did not have the original film? It waited until May 1967 to copyright it.[62]

Tell-Tale Sign

At some time between Nov. 22, 1963, and Dec. 5, 1963, the Stemmons Freeway sign was repositioned and raised, invalidating any accurate reconstruction of the crime.

On Dec. 16, 1963, member John McCloy commented on it and its significance before a Warren Commission meeting: "You see this sign here," he said, pointing to the frame from the Zapruder film, "someone suggested that this sign has now been removed . . . from the sign you can get a good notion of where the first bullet hit."[63]

It was on July 22, 1964, however, when the Commission interviewed the Dealey Plaza groundskeeper. He commented, ". . . they have moved some of those signs. They have moved that R.L. Thornton Freeway sign and put up a Stemmons sign."[64]

A photograph taken during the Secret Service reenactment (Fig. 4-7) on Dec. 5, 1963 when compared to Zapruder frame 207 (Fig. 4-8), shows the following. First, the sign has been moved to the right and raised. Second, the angle of the sign to the camera differs from Zapruder's. The sign's new position is also shown when the FBI reconstruction photograph of May 24, 1964 (Fig. 4-9) is overlayed with the Secret Service photo of Dec. 5, 1963. The overlay (Fig. 4-10) was made by matching the tree (A), the masonry holes (B), and windows (C) in both.

The FBI apparently tried to have the sign replaced approximately where it was on Nov. 22, 1963. Note how much of the stand-ins can be seen (Fig. 4-9) as compared to frame 207 (Fig. 4-8). There is also a difference in appearance between the two signs: the sign in frame 207 (Fig. 4-8) has a medium grey tone while that in the Secret Service (Fig. 4-7) and FBI (Fig. 4-9) reconstructions is solid black.

After May 24, 1964, the sign was removed, making any accurate reconstruction of the Zapruder film impossible.[65]

Altering Time

The Secret Service produced the first re-enactment tests and surveys. These would be the basis of the information for both the FBI and the Commission, and thereby mislead them.

On Nov. 25, 1963, the Secret Service made a survey in Dealey Plaza to establish bullet trajectories. [66]

Two days later, the Secret Service held its first re-enactment. Using a surveyer and the Zapruder film, an agent measured the distance from the eastern window ledge of the depository's sixth floor to the car. The distance for the neck shot was given as 170 feet, the point at which the view was stated as 260 feet. He claimed the point where Connally was hit was undeterminable.[67]

The Secret Service photographs of its re-enactment show the car at 170 and 260 feet; its map designates these two shots at frame 207 and 375, with frame 330 as the shot for Connally.[68]

Again, on Dec. 5. 1963, the Secret Service held another re-enactment. At that time, the car, according to photographs, was positioned at frames 207, 330. And 375. When this was put on a map they coordinated with frames 207, 285, and 330.[69]

A final version of the hits further compressed the time. The Warren Commission stated that the President was first hit between frames 210-225, and Connally was hit between frames 235-240. Frame 313 was the final hit.[70]

In short, the timing of the shots was compressed. This solved the problem of the time that the film created. Zapruder's movie camera ran at 18 frames per second.[71] The scenario rifle required a minimum of 2.3 seconds between shots, or 42 frames.[72] The difference between the Commission's designations of the first hit on the President and the hit on Connally was less than 42 frames, exceeding that rifle's capability. If one shot hit both, however, then the Commission avoided the problem of having to deal with another gun and a conspiracy.

But the altered film still left major problems unexplained by the single-bullet hypothesis: 1). The lack of reaction by the President's guards, who were supposed to protect him; 2) the backward movement of the President's head after he was struck at frame 313; and 3) Mrs. Kennedy crawling across the trunk trying to escape the car in panic.

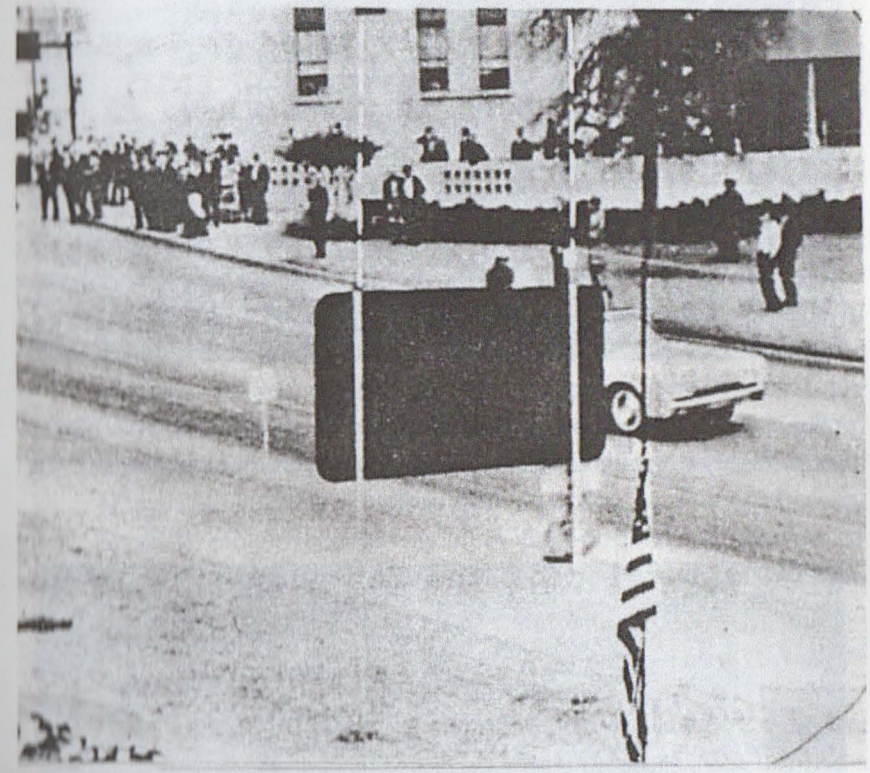


Fig. 4-7. A still photo from Zapruder's position during the Secret Service reenactment on Dec. 5, 1963. Sign has been moved to the right and raised. Angle to the camera has also been changed.

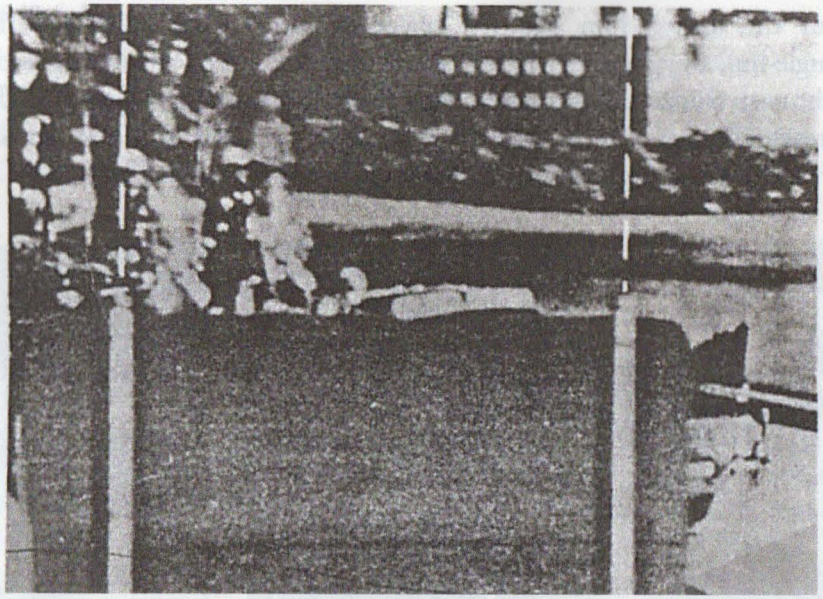


Fig. 4-8. Drawing based on altered Zapruder film frame 207. Sign has probably been retouched to cover up most of the occupants in the limousine.

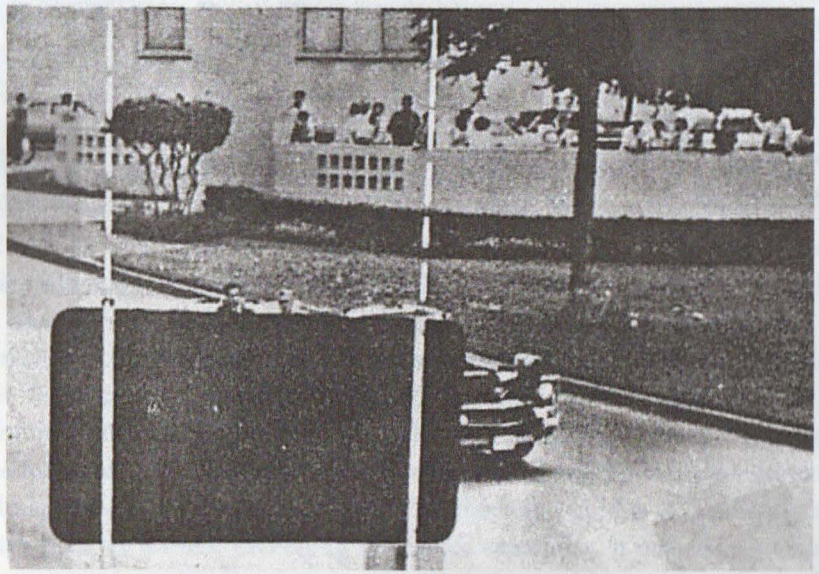


Fig. 4-9. Still photograph Secret Service re-enactment

Chapter Four Endnotes:

1. Abraham Zapruder, "Testimony of Abraham Zapruder [dated July 22, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 7, p. 570"
2. Lyndal L. Shaneyfelt, "testimony of Lyndal L. Shanneyfelt [dated June 4, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 5, p. 139.
3. Calculation by photo triangulation.
4. ". . . the Secret Service agent . . . must be able to hit the target under any and all conditions . . ." (C.B. Colby, *Secret Service: History, Duties and Equipment*, p. 20.)
   According to Merriman Smith, "All [agents on the White House Detail of the Secret Service] are crack shots with either hand. Their pistol marksmanship is tested on one of the toughest ranges in the country. The bull's-eye of their target is about half the size of the one ordinarily used on police and Army ranges. They must qualify with an unusually high score every 30 days, and if any one of them—or any of the White House police, which falls under Secret Service jurisdiction—fails below a certain marksmanship standard, they are transferred. Agents must also qualify periodically firing from moving vehicles. This accounts for the requirement to shoot well with either hand. A right-handed agent might be clinging to a speeding car with that hand and have to shoot with the left." (Timothy G. Smith (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 226.)
   In his testimony, Greer claimed he ". . . made a quick glance and back again," over his right shoulder, at the time of the second shot. He stated, "My eyes [turned] slightly [to the right] more than my head. My eyes went more than my head around. I had a vision real quick of it." (Greer, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 118).
   One study (1971) of the Zapruder film approximated the direction, clockwise, that the occupants faced in the limousine. In orientation, noon was at the front of the car, 6 o'clock was on the trunk, 9 o'clock was the mid-point on the left, and 3 o'clock that was on the right of the limousine. Greer was judged to be looking to the right and rear twice. He was in the 4:30 position from frames 282-290, the sequence when Connally is shot; in the 3:30-5 position from frames 303-316, the sequence with the fatal shot.

4-a. The location of Connally's hat, which may have a bullet hole in it, is unknown.
Another study (1967), made without the film and working only from frames, estimated Greer to be 40 degrees to his right beginning at frame 240 and extending to 80 degrees from frame 270 through frame 309 (309 was the last frame available to the researcher). (Ronald Christensen, "A Preliminary Analysis of the Pictures of the Kennedy Assassination, p. 69).

5. Shaneyfelt, *loc. cit.*

6. Zapruder film, "Commission Exhibit No. 885. 'Album of black and white photographs of frames from the Zapruder, Nix, and Muchmore film,'" in Hearings, v. 18, pp. 1-80.
According to FBI Director Hoover, in a letter of December 14, 1965, frames 314 and 315 were transposed in printing. Visually, it appears to reverse the direction of the head movement.

7. In a few of the more sophisticated available copies, splice marks were retouched out. A 16 mm version contained evidence of only one splice.

8. In a few of the more sophisticated copies, color change was consistent throughout the film. One 16 mm version, in the Life magazine photo library, is of excellent quality, containing consistent color throughout. This copy, however, does contain evidence of a splice between frames 156-157.

8-a. According to researcher Gary Murr, this can be demonstrated by comparing Life of Oct. 2, 1964, with that of Nov. 25, 1966. In the 1966 Issue, "in frame 312, Kennedy's hair in this right-rear area has its typical chestnut-brown shade about it. However in the 313 enlargements [in the 1964 issue], this portion is jet-black . . . You can literally trace the outline of the shape of the blackened touching-up job."

9. Nix film.
Muchmore film.

10. Dan Rather, *loc. cit.*

11. She stated, "And just as I turned and looked at him I could see a piece of his skull sort of wedge-shaped like that, and I remember it was flesh colored with little ridges at the top. I remember thinking he just looked as if he had a slight headache. And I just remember seeing that. No blood or anything. And then he sort of did that,

put his hand to his forehead and fell in my lap." (President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy, *Report of Proceedings*, v. 48, June 5, 1964, p. 6814.)

12. Especially in *Life* magazine's 4 x 5 transparency of this frame.

13. John Connally, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 133.
Nellie Connally, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 147. *Commission Document No. 188*, p. 6 Kellerman, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 74, 78.
In an interview with William R. Greer, Greer said, ". . . my back was covered with it."

14. This area also displays optical enlargement, especially between frames 317 and 318 (magnification jumps from 1 to 1.3).

15. Dan Rather, *loc. cit.*

16. *Modern Cinematographer*, June 1969, pp. 566, 567, 568.
Note: Connally testified, "I had seen what purported to be a copy of the film when I was in the hospital in Dallas." (Connally, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 145.)

17. Abraham Zapruder, *Commission Document No. 7* [dated Dec. 4, 1963]," p. 12.

18. Dan Rather, *loc. cit.*

19. Zapruder, *op. cit.*, v. 7, p. 751.

20. Dan Rather, *loc. cit.*

21. Zapruder film, "Commission Exhibit No. 885, "*op. cit.*, v. 18, p. 19.
Note: *Life* magazine later accepted the blame for this. It said that four frames ". . . had been accidentally destroyed by its photo lab technicians." (*New York Times*, Jan. 30, 1967, p. 22).

22. *Commission Document No. 87*, p. 434.

23. Interview with Orville O. Nix in film *Rush to Judgment*.

24. *Commission Document No. 385*, p. 70. FBI lab report says Nix's camera was running an average speed of 18.5 frames per second.

25. Marie Muchmore, *Commission Document No. 735*, pp. 124, 103.

26. Mary Moorman. *Commission Document No. 5*, p. 37.
John Wiseman, "Decker Exhibit No. 5323. 'Supplementary Investigation Report dated November 23, 1963,' within Dallas County Sheriff's Office record . . ." in Hearings, v. 19, pp. 535-536.
"Commission Exhibit No. 1426. 'FBI report dated November 23, 1963, of interview of Mary Ann Moorman at Dallas, Tex. (CD 5, pp. 36-37),'" in Hearings, v. 22, p. 839.

27. Commission Exhibit No. 1426, *loc. cit.*
28. Interview with Jean L. Hill.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Philip L. Willis. *Commission Document No. 1245*, pp. 44-47.
31. Willis slide number five.
32. Altgens, *op. cit.*, v. 7, p. 519.
33. *ABC Television*, Nov. 23, 9 a.m. Tom O'Brian, ABC News Director.
34. Of the amateurs, an 8 mm color film by Robert J. Hughes does show the depository with the limousine directly below the sixth floor "sniper's nest." The FBI examined this film and concluded there was no person in the window (*Commission Document No. 205*, p. 158). In addition, ". . . Itek Corporation, a photo-optical electronics firm, concluded the object in the window . . . was not a person." (*Life*, Nov. 24, 1967, p. 88). A Polaroid photo taken by Jack Weaver, who was standing near Hughes at Main and Houston Streets, was also examined by the FBI with the same negative results (*Ibid.*, p. 175).
35. Zapruder, *op. cit.*, v. 7, p. 571.
36. *Ibid.*
37. J. Herbert Sawyer, "Testimony of J. Herbert Sawyer [dated April 8, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 324.
38. Forrest V. Sorrels, *op. cit.*, v. 7, p. 352.
39. *Commission Document No. 1014*, "Sorrels memo to S. S. Chief Rowley and S. S. Inspector Tom Kelley [dated Jan. 22, 1964]."
40. Dallas Police Dept., "Commission Document No. 705. 'Channel 2' . . . *op. cit.*, v. 17, p. 482.
41. Sorrels, *loc. cit.*
42. Affidavit of P. M. Chamberlin, Jr., Production Supervisor, Eastman Kodak Co., Dallas, Tex., dated Nov. 22, 1963.
43. Letter of Abraham Zapruder to C. D. Jackson, Publisher, *Life* magazine, dated November 25, 1963.
44. Affidavit of Frank H. Sloan, Laboratory Manager, Jamieson Film Co., Dallas, Tex., dated Nov. 22, 1963.
45. Affidavit of Tom Nulty, Production Foreman, Eastman Kodak Co., Dallas, Tex., dated Nov. 22, 1963.
46. Zapruder, *op. cit.*, v. 7, p. 575.

47. *Commission Document No. 87*, "Max D. Phillips, Note of transmittal [undated] 9:55 p.m.
According to *Life's* representative, Richard B. Stolley, the disposition was ". . . one copy sent off to Washington and another given to Dallas police. Zapruder kept the original and one print . . ." (Richard B. Stolley, "What happened next . . ." *Esquire*, November 1973, p. 135).
48. Interview with Harry D. Holmes.
49. Inspector Kelley. *Commission Document No. 1014*, *op. cit.*
50. Shanneyfelt, *op. cit.*, v. 5, p. 138.
51. Agreement between Abraham Zapruder and Richard B. Stolley, dated November 23, 1963.
52. Contract between Abraham Zapruder and Time, Inc., dated Nov. 25, 1963.
Record of physical possession is confused. Zapruder's agreement of Nov. 23, 1963, reads: "You [*Life*] agree to return to me the original print of that film, and I will then supply you with a copy print." Life's agent, Richard B. Stolley, claimed he ". . . picked up the original of the film and the one remaining copy . . ." after the agreement was signed. (Stolley, *loc. cit.*)
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Life*, Nov. 29, 1963, p. 24.
Time, for Nov. 29, 1963, and Dec. 6, 1963, made no mention of the film although it printed four frames in the later issue (pp. 33A, 33B).
55. The issue dated for Nov. 29, 1963 was to have been on sale by Nov. 26, 1963. Although, according to *Life*, "The editors said that time limitations did not permit reproductions in color." They also said ". . . they were unable last night [Nov. 23, 1963] to give precise details as to what the film showed but that they were assured that it depicted the impact of the bullets that struck Mr. Kennedy." (*New York Times*, Nov. 24, 1963, p. 5.)
56. *Life*, Dec. 13, 1963. The memorial issue is unpaginated.
57. Lifton (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 72.
58. Shaneyfelt, *op. cit.*, v. 5, p. 138.
59. *Life*, Oct. 2, 1964, pp. 43-46.
60. Researcher Paul Hoch determined that five versions were issued by *Life* by comparing the test and captions 3, 5, 6 and 8 on p. 42;

picture 6 on p. 45; the text in column 2 and caption of line 3 on p. 47; and 4 captions, lines 1, 9, 13 and 18, on p. 48. Using this method, the authors discovered a sixth version. Vincent J. Salandria, noted three versions ("A Philadelphia Lawyer Analyses the Shots, Trajectories and Wounds," *Liberation*, January 1965, pp. 6-7.)

61. Lifton (ed.), *loc. cit.*
62. "Motion Pictures and Filmstripes," *Catalog of Copyright Entries, Third Series*, v. 21, pts. 12-13, no. 1, January-June 1967, p. 19. Through the film is at least 27 seconds in length, *Life* on Oct. 2, 1964, described it as ". . . an eight second strip . . .". In the *Catalog of Copyright Entries*, in 1967, it is listed as 10 seconds in length (p. 42).
    Life's representative, Richard B. Stolley, claimed it was ". . . seven seconds of film" (Stolley, *loc. cit.*) He also said, ". . . in the beginning of the film . . . pictured some children at play . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 134), a sequence not shown on any film made available to the authors.
    The *New York Times*, for Nov. 24, 1963, referred to it as ". . . a 15-second close-up sequence . . ." (p. 5.)
63. Lifton (ed.), *loc. cit.*
64. Emmett J. Hudson, "Testimony of Emmett J. Hudson [dated July 22, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 7, p. 562.
65. An official use of the film, other than by the Warren Commission, was made by the CIA. It wanted to borrow the FBI's copy ". . . for training purposes." (J. Edgar Hoover, Letter of December 4, 1964.)
66. *Dallas Morning News*, Nov. 26, 1963, Sect. 4, p. 7.
67. Agent John J. Howlett. Commission Document No. 5, p. 117.
68. "Commission Exhibit No. 585. 'Surveyor's plat of the Assassination Scene,'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 262.
69. Ibid.
70. Report of the President's commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, pp. 105-109.
71. Ibid.
    Shaneyfelt, op. cit., v. 5, p. 153.
    "Commission exhibit No. 2444. 'FBI report of FBI Laboratory examination of various items relating to the assassination (CD 206, pp. 45-61),'" in Hearings, v. 25, p. 576.
72. Report of the President's commission, loc. cit. Shanneyfelt, loc. cit.

PART II

The Body Snatchers

Chapter Five

Parkland

Originally, the plotters did not plan to stop at Parkland Hospital. As a Texas congressman remarked after the third shot and the halt of the motorcade: "If all is well ahead, we are headed for Love Field. We are getting out."[1] At the time of the shooting, he was unable to see the limousine from his position.

Apparently, the plan was to shoot only the President. The President's physician would then pronounce him dead on the spot.[2] Since the fatal wounds made further medical attention unnecessary, the party would then rush to Love Field and fly to Washington, D.C., while the Vice-President and his Secret Service agents expressed grave concern about a worldwide conspiracy.

But credibility was important in a cover story featuring a "mentally unstable sniper." Wounding the Texas Governor would help it. If both an East Coast liberal and a Southern conservative were shot, then it would seem to be a senseless act rather than a political one, especially a "Texas plot." At the last moment, the plotters shot Connally. It was appropriate then when the executive assistant to the Vice-President told Mrs. Johnson on the night of the assassination: ". . . the salvation of Texas is that the Governor was hit." The Vice-President's wife responded, "Don't think I haven't thought of that."[3]

They had to stop at Parkland Hospital because Connally was wounded. But that created problems for the plotters because a team of doctors saw the President's wounds.

The public might have believed someone shot the President from behind with a rifle if it resulted in a simple head wound. But the Parkland doctors held a press conference and talked about an entrance wound at the front, and throat as well as head wounds.

The reports of the doctor's press conference were heard aboard the Presidential plane as it flew toward Washington, D.C. The new President, his physician,[4] and their Secret Service agents listened carefully.

Most likely the decision to mutilate the President's body was made on the plane among Secret Service agents at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Washington, D.C. It had to be done to disprove the contentions of the Parkland doctors and to ensure credibility of the cover story.

Bethesda also created problems for the plotters because they did not want an autopsy. The altered body would pass under the scrutiny of more eyes. Therefore, the alterations had to be sufficient enough to deceive inexperienced autopsy physicians. Commander Humes had never performed an autopsy on a bullet wound victim.

Despite these disadvantages, military doctors at Bethesda did not present the same problems as did the civilian doctors at Parkland. Military discipline, especially when it concerned the President, meant that orders issued would be obeyed. Pathologists could be selected and manipulated, and, within limits, evidence could be destroyed. Adm. George G. Burkley, Johnson's physician, would see the naval pathologists were deceived. Furthermore, as CBS later noted, "The officer in charge of the room was . . . Burkley. He reportedly directed that certain vital, normal procedures not be carried out."[4a]

Arrival

Despite the radio link to the hospital,[5] the President received almost no attention when the limousine arrived at Parkland. An ABC White House

correspondent in the motorcade thought the hospital had been given little, if any, advance notice. Not a single doctor met the limousine. Furthermore, the President lay in the back seat unattended for a minute or two before a stretcher was brought out.[6] According to Senator Yarborough, "Mrs. Kennedy was lying over President Kennedy sobbing a couple of times, 'They murdered my husband.'"

According to Connally's wife, "We pulled into the emergency entrance of Parkland Hospital and it seemed to me an eternity before anyone moved. My husband was dying in my arms and I wanted somebody to do something fast."[7]

While stretchers were being taken to the Presidential limousine, the Vice-President's group hurried into the hospital surrounded by his Secret Service detail.[8] Senator Yarborough stated, "As the Vice President's car pulled into the emergency area, . . . he believed one of the agents addressed Mr. Johnson as Mr. President." Johnson was taken in by five Secret Service agents, ". . . the nucleus of the future White House Detail."[9] They were inside Parkland before the President and Connally were removed from the limousine.[10]

While some were in a state of shock, those seizing power were busy.

A temporary command post was set up in the emergency area on the first floor in a minor medical suite. Though the President was still technically alive, the Vice-President was firmly in command of communications. Contact was established with the Signal Corps post in downtown Dallas, the Pentagon, the White House situation room, and the Cabinet plane over the Pacific Ocean.[11]

A military communications officer and police searched the hospital for phones. Each time one was located, it was given to a Dallas policeman with instructions to guard it.[12]

Kennedy loyalists tried to call out. For example, they asked a Dallas policeman at the hospital to have his dispatcher arrange a line for them. The police dispatcher said all of his lines were tied up.[13] Kennedy loyalists had been effectively isolated at the hospital from the rest of the world.

Johnson, anticipating an investigation, had his wife and others with him, including Secret Service agents, write self-serving notes on the situation. Consequently, "all these later became the basis of the White House log."[14]

Fig. 5-1. Diagram of original throat wound.

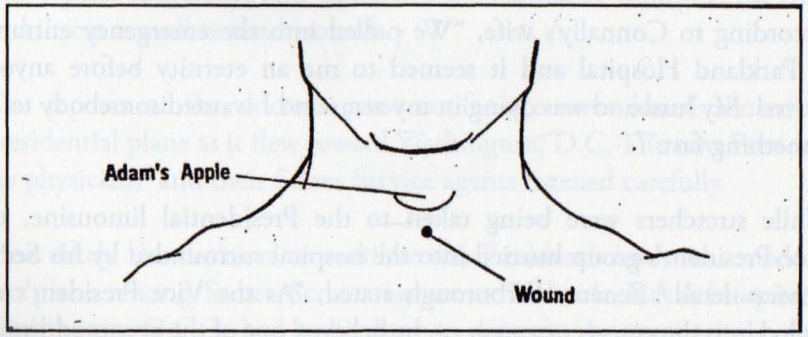
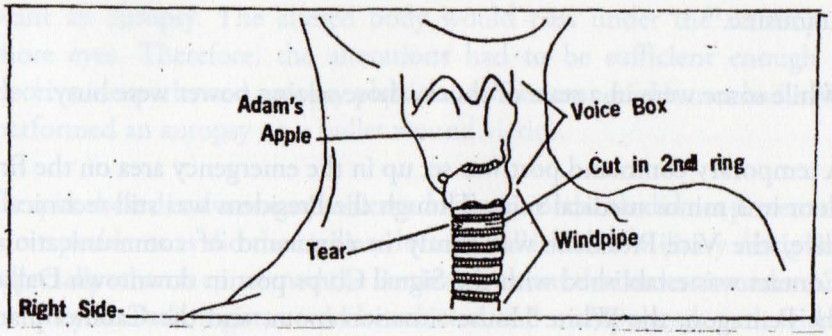


Fig. 5-2. Diagram of original throat wound structure.



Secret Service Behavior

According to a Dallas police officer, the conduct of the Secret Service at Parkland resembled "a police state."[15]

The first notice received by hospital staff occurred when two Secret Service agents burst into the emergency area; one waved a sub-machine gun.[16]

The Secret Service had to limit investigations by others. They asked one nurse ". . . to screen all personnel at the doorway leading to the trauma rooms."[17] Secret Service agents assaulted an FBI agent when he tried to enter the room where the President's body lay.[18]

The Secret Service made sure no photographs were made of the President in the back of the limousine and during the time he was taken to the emergency room. A Texas Highway Patrolman said, "We were assigned by the Secret Service to prevent any pictures of any nature to be taken of the President's car or the inside."[19] Another Highway Patrolman stated, ". . . we were instructed to keep the news media away from the car."[20] A security officer with the Dallas County Hospital District also ". . . helped keep press people and spectators away from the Presidential car." Photographs would indicate bullet damage and direction.

An hour after the President had been taken inside, the Secret Service assaulted a young boy who had a movie camera. He was filming the emergency entrance area where the limousine was parked. They tore the camera from his hands, opened it, and kicked the unwinding film down the street.[21]

Concern over photographers caused the Chief of the Dallas field office of the Secret Service to make false statements to the FBI.[22]

Original Throat Wound

Parkland doctors found a small wound in the front and at the middle of the President's neck, below the Adam's apple.[23] Dr. Perry said the size of the wound was only a "few millimeters in diameter."[24] A millimeter is equal to 0.04 of an inch. The wound was fairly round to oval in shape[25] and clean in appearance.[26] See Fig. 5-1.

The doctors found no "obvious signs of powder burns" which "may have been masked by all the blood".[27] Powder residues usually are present if the distance between muzzle and target is less than 18 inches.[28] The doctors' concern indicated their belief the throat wound was one of entrance, made at close range.

Dr. Jones felt the wound's smooth edges were the result of a low-velocity bullet.[29] For Dr. Akin, ". . . if the President had been shot with a low velocity missile, such as fire from a pistol, it was more likely to have been an entrance wound . . ."[30] Furthermore, he continued, low velocity missiles of small caliber, i.e., .22 to .32, ". . . are slow moving, and they enter the body and don't leave it. They usually stay in it . . ."[31]

Blood was slowly oozing out of the neck wound.[32] Dr. Perry believed the wound indicated possible underlying damage to an artery or vein, or to the windpipe.[33] He made a cut of a few millimeters directly across and through the wound, into the second tracheal ring of the windpipe.[34](Fig. 5-2).

The windpipe had shifted slightly to the left.[35] On its right side was a small, ragged tear,

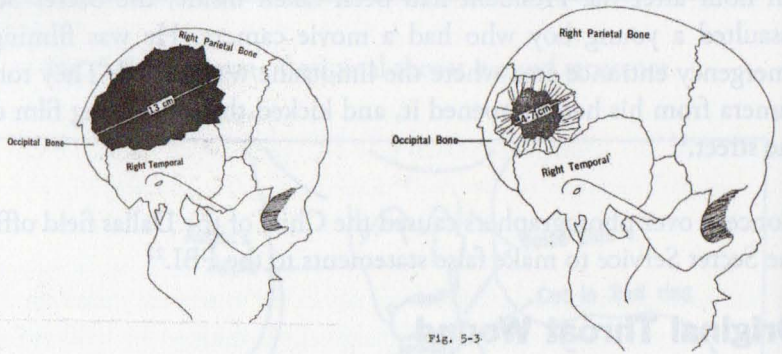


Fig. 5-3. Original head wound. Compare with Fig. 6-4.

just below the voice box, and at the same level as the wound on the outside of the neck.[36] The tear on the windpipe was due to a bullet fragment.[37] The bullet had nicked the right side of the windpipe as it tore through the neck. Dr. Perry made a small cut into the windpipe, above the tear, into which a tracheotomy tube was inserted.[38]

The shift of the windpipe to the left, plus the presence of blood and air in the area between and above the lungs and heart, indicated the possibility of a wound to the right lung.[39] As a preventative measure, a tube in the

right cheek was requested.[40] But the amount of blood in the area around the lungs and heart prevented detection of any injuries.[41]

Original Head Wound

Parkland doctors stated the head wound was on the right side—the occipitoparietal area—of the President's skull (Fig. 5-3). [42] Dr. Carrico estimated between 4-7 cm (1.5-2.7 inches) of scalp and skull were torn away in approximately a circular shape.[43] The wound exhibited skull fragments[44] and torn brain tissue,[45] with perhaps about one-third of the brain tissue missing.[46]

Dr. Akin assumed the wound was tangential.[47] Dr. Clark described the wound as tangential.[48]

Dr. Clark explained if a bullet hit the skull at an angle, then it would go through more bone than if it hit the head squarely. A tangential path would cause the bullet to expend more energy, striking a greater blow to the brain. Not only would pieces of bone be blown into the brain, but also the bullet might be ". . . deflected so that it would go through or penetrate parts of the brain, not in the usual direct line it was proceeding."[49]

Dr. McClelland said the wound in the President's skull could be expected ". . . from a very high velocity missile . . . with a heavy caliber bullet, such as a .45 pistol fired at close range . . ." This would particularly apply to the skull ". . . where there was a sudden change in density from the brain to the skull cavity, as it entered. As it left the body, it would still have a great deal of force behind it and would blow up a large segment of tissue as it exited."[50]

Point of Entry

Some of the Parkland doctors were concerned about a wound on the left side of the President's head. Dr. Jenkins saw blood in the left temporal area, ". . . right above the zygomatic bone [cheek bone] in the hairline . . ."[51] Dr. McClelland recorded in his medical report on the day of the assassination: ". . . cause of death was due to massive head and brain injury from a gunshot wound of the left temple."[52] Oscar L. Huber, one of the priests who gave

final rites, claimed he saw a wound over the left eye of the President.[53] At the Parkland news conference on the afternoon of Nov. 22, Dr. Perry said the entrance wound—which is the medical description—"was in the front of the head."[54]

Press Conference

At 1:47 p.m., CST, NBC reported, "President Kennedy, we are now informed, was shot in the right temple. 'It was a simple matter of a bullet right through the head,' said Dr. George Burkley, the White House medical officer."[55] No mention was made of the wound in the throat. Then, the Parkland doctors held a news conference at 2 p.m.

Parkland doctors had acquired considerable experience with gunshot wounds.[56] They originally speculated a bullet entered the neck, struck the spinal column, and exited from the head.[57]

Shortly after 2 p.m., the Associated Press quoted Dr. Perry as saying the President had been shot "in the front of the head."[58] At 2:36 p.m., NBC reported from Parkland doctors Perry and Clark said the President was struck by a bullet ". . . in front as he faced the assailant . . ."[59] CBS reported Parkland doctors stated the shots that killed the President had "entered the throat and out the back of the head."[60]

The Secret Service was supposed to furnish the Warren Commission with media recordings of the press conference.[61] It never did. Furthermore, according to the National Archives, "No tape recordings or transcripts of the interviews with doctors at Parkland Memorial Hospital, Dallas, Texas, have been found in the Commission's records."[62]

The only copy of the record of medical treatment at Parkland, which was handwritten, was given to the Secret Service in November 1963.[63] In February 1964, Parkland doctors were interviewed by the Secret Service to determine if they had any other notes or reports.[64] They were interviewed two-to-three times.[65] Of special concern to the Secret Service was whether the neck wound was one of entrance,[66] the doctors' speculations on the source of the wounds,[67] and if the doctors had any more written records or information beyond what they had provided.[68]

Burkley

Naval Adm. George G. Burkley, the President's physician as of August 1963, was present during efforts to aid the President at Parkland, [69] but apparently did not participate.[70] Burkley claimed, ". . . my direct services . . . would have interfered with the action of the team which was in progress."[71]

After efforts had failed, Burkley made sure a Parkland doctor signed a death certificate, which was necessary to remove the body out of the state of Texas.[72]

Burkley was most insistent upon leaving Parkland Hospital as soon as possible.[73] He talked to the Dallas County Medical Examiner, ". . . in a very agitated manner,"[74] about ". . . the necessity of quick action."[75] The latter wanted to hold the body for an autopsy.

Despite Burkley's apparent lack of participation, one hour later, at Johnson's swearing-in ceremony aboard Air Force One, reporters noted his shirt cuffs were bloodstained.[75a]

The Body Snatchers

It was essential to the plot that the body of President Kennedy be taken away from the Texas medical authorities lest an honest autopsy reveal the cause of death was close-range pistol fire. Wounds of entrance on the front of the body would point to the actual assassin.

From his command post in Parkland's minor medicine suite, the new President issued his first orders. They ". . . covered two basic points—that President Kennedy's body was to be removed from the hospital forthwith, and the other was that the Vice President was to return to Washington."[76]

According to the hospital administrator, ". . . a Secret Service man came to me and asked how we could move the president's body. He asked me if we had a casket, a basket or anything that we could get to move the body immediately."[77]

But the Dallas County Medical Examiner, Dr. Earl Rose, announced, "There has been a homicide here. You won't be able to remove the body. We will take it down to the mortuary for an autopsy."[78] Rose told the Secret Service agents, who were advancing with the casket, that the chain-of-custody must be unbroken. Texas law prohibited removal of a body from the state without an autopsy.[79]

The Secret Service had to retain the evidence. And a power struggle developed in the halls of Parkland Hospital between Secret Service agent Roy Kellerman and Dr. Rose. No one with sufficient legal authority to settle the dispute could be located.[80] Chief Curry, who had such authority, could not act. He had been sent by the Secret Service to lead the Vice-President's motorcade back to Love Field and the Presidential plane.[81]

During an interview, Curry commented: "I wasn't there at the time, and had I been there, I probably would have been on the side of the Coroner because under Texas law, he was supposed to stay there for an autopsy . . . and they [the Secret Service] more or less just snatched the body away from him . . ."[82]

Wounded Agent Ploy

A rumor allowed the body of the President to be removed under the facade of legality and provided the Secret Service with a valid reason to become involved in the investigation. In 1963, the murder of a President was not covered by federal law. If a federal agent, however, was killed, then federal authorities could intervene.[83] Such an agent was fictitiously slain to provide a legal cover to remove the President's body from the jurisdiction of the Dallas Coroner and the state of Texas.

At 12:45 p.m., CBS affiliate KRLD reported a Secret Service agent had been killed with the President.[84] At 1:23 p.m., Walter Cronkite announced on CBS, "A Secret Serviceman was also killed in the fusillade of shots . . ."[85] The rumor was heard by a reporter at Parkland Hospital.[86] At 2:14 p.m., The Associated Press stated, "A Secret Service agent and a Dallas policeman were shot and killed today . . ."[87] A Dallas Police Department officer called his dispatcher at 2:40 p.m., and reported, "One of the Secret Servicemen

on the field—Elm and Houston—said that it came over his teletype that one of the Secret Servicemen had been killed."[88]

Reporters went to the Secret Service headquarters in Dallas where a spokesman said he could neither confirm nor deny the report. "All I've heard," he told them, "is the same reports you've heard."[89]

At 3:33 p.m., a denial was issued in Washington, D.C., by Robert Wallace, assistant secretary of the treasury in charge of the Secret Service. Wallace asserted, "No Secret Service man was injured in the attack on President Kennedy."[90] By that time, the ploy had served its purpose: The body was on its way to Bethesda Naval Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Altering the Limousine

James J. Rowley, Chief of the Secret Service, asserted: ". . . Kellerman authorized the return of the President's car to the airport for loading aboard a C-130 for the return to Washington, D.C. The purpose was to preserve its condition unchanged for the earliest possible examination."[91]

The Secret Service, however, changed the condition of this prime evidence because the limousine was the crime scene itself.

At Parkland Hospital, a Secret Service agent with the Vice-President's detail ordered other agents to put the top on the limousine.[92] Two agents did so.[93] Then no one could see inside the vehicle.

A hospital orderly was asked to get a bucket of water; he complied.[94] A nurse's aide was asked if she ". . . would get someone to come and wash the blood out of the car."[95] She said she would, but was so excited and nervous she forgot about it.[96]

Newsmen were witnesses. Reporter Hugh Sidney watched. "A guard," he said, "was set up around the Lincoln as Secret Service men got a pail of water and tried to wash the blood from the car."[97] According to Tom Wicker, ". . . the police were guarding the Presidential car closely. A bucket of water stood by the car, suggesting that the back seat had been scrubbed

out."[98] On ABC, Don Gardiner stated, "Outside the hospital, blood had to be wiped from the limousine . . ."[99]

Later, the Secret Service admitted it ". . . was sorry that hospital orderlies had sponged it out."[100]

After the limousine had been cleaned out, driven to Love Field, loaded on a military cargo aircraft, flown to Andrews's air force base, driven by agents to the White House garage and stored, bullet fragments mysteriously appeared. There was a bullet nose on Greer's seat and a bullet base on the floor by Kellerman's seat. The next morning, the secret service allowed the FBI crime lab team to examine the limousine for the first time.[101]

Kellerman told another Secret Service agent to take the limousine and the follow-up car back to Love Field and load them aboard the C-130 transport plane.[102]

At 1:09 p.m., just a few minutes after the Parkland doctors discontinued treatment of the President, the Dallas police radio received reports about the two cars. A Dallas motorcycle officer radioed his dispatcher: "I have the Presidential cars en route out there [to Love Field]."[103]

Reaching Love Field, the agents embellished their activities to impress officials there. They ". . . fanned out crying to everyone they recognized that they would have given anything 'to have been able to shoot it out with that son of hell;' that 'he should be torn limb from limb; death is too good for him.'"[104] No one, however, had been arrested at this time.

Such behavior, in addition to the cover stories, gave the Secret Service enough time to deal with the evidence before an investigation could be started.

It was close. At 4:10 p.m., the Dallas police dispatcher called a deputy chief at Love Field" ". . . hold the Presidential cars at the location. 408 is in route to print 'em [sic]." This was a Dallas police crime lab vehicle intent on gathering evidence from the limousine. The deputy chief answered, ". . . they have been loaded and have left on the other transport."[105] Only 35 minutes earlier, the plane carrying the Presidential limousine and the Secret Service follow-up car taxied down the runway for Washington, DC.[106]

The Conspiracy Rumor

While the President's body lie in trauma room one, the Vice-President's party gathered in booth 13 of minor medicine to await medical word of Kennedy's death. At approximately 1:13 p.m., a Secret Service agent entered and told Johnson the Presidency was his.[107]

At this time, Johnson planted a rumor to distract those who might be in a position to stop the plot. The rumor was effective because its source was authorative and from the highest level of government: the new President.

One of the first to hear this rumor at Parkland was Presidential aide Kenneth O'Donnell. When he told Johnson that President Kennedy was dead, Johnson said, ". . . we must look upon this in a sense that it might be a conspiracy of some nature . . ."[108]

An assistant press secretary asked if he could announce the death of President Kennedy. Johnson said no, and cautioned, "I think we had better wait a few minutes. I think I had better get out of here and get back to the plane before you announce it. We don't know whether they are after me as well as they were after President Kennedy, or whether they are after Speaker McCormack or Senator Hayden."[109] Johnson made reference to the Lincoln assassination and the attempt to kill Secretary Seward.[110]

". . . we don't know," Johnson asserted, "whether this is a worldwide conspiracy."[111] Later he recalled, "I entertained grave fears for our future. I didn't know if this was part of a communist conspiracy or a plot against our system."[112]

The Secret Service agent in charge of the Vice-President's detail added to the rumor: "We should evacuate this hospital right away," he advocated. The agent urged, "Get on that plane and get back to Washington. We don't know whether this is one man, two men, a gang, or an Army."[113]

The Secret Service agent second-in-command under agent Kellerman declared he ". . . had a hunch that there might be a conspiracy to wipe out all top federal officials."[114]

Dallas Police Chief Curry heard the rumor when he took Johnson back to Love Field. In an interview, Curry stated: "It was some of the Secret Service men that were with the President at the time. They seemed pretty anxious to get Johnson out of Parkland and get him to Love Field and get him back to Washington. 'Cause something was said, 'we don't know what the hell might be going on, whether this is maybe an international incident or whether this is a civil uprising or what it may be—a revolution.' "[115]

Meanwhile, the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, who was tending the Kennedy Cabinet in a plane over the Pacific Ocean, also planted the rumor. He talked to the Acting Secretary of State, George Ball, by radiophone ". . . about the possibility that the shooting might be the prelude to some sort of global Pearl Harbor . . ."[116] Ball then called the CIA director, John McCone, and advised, "You'd better get the watch committee going . . ." to survey what Moscow and Peking were doing.[117]

Then, at 1:15 p.m., CST, the Joint Chiefs of Staff broadcast an alert to all U.S. world commands.[118] Wells Hagen, an NBC correspondent, reported from Germany, ". . . because of the fear of possible invasion, an alert condition—the highest emergency short of war—has been proclaimed in West Germany."[119]

During the flight from Dallas to Washington, Johnson voices his concern about a communist conspiracy. "It's the Kremlin that worries me," he said. "It can't be allowed to detect a waver or a hint of hesitancy."[120]

At the same time, other passengers on the plane heard a different story. During the flight between Dallas and Washington, D.C.—between 2:49 and 5:05 p.m., CST—". . . the party learned that there was no conspiracy; learned of the identity of Oswald and his arrest . . ."[120-0] Oswald was singled out at this time when no credible evidence existed against him and while other individuals were being interrogated and arrested by the police. Indeed, it was not until 1:35 a.m., on the next day, Oswald was charged with assassinating President Kennedy.[120-1]

On the evening of Nov. 22, Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade learned someone was ". . . going to file on Oswald as [being] part of an international conspiracy in murdering the U.S. President . . ."[120a] Though he claimed,

". . . I don't know who suggested it . . ." he thought ". . . it had to be a publicity deal . . . somebody was interested in something other than the law because there is no such charge in Texas . . ."[120-b] Wade ". . . went down to the police station and took the charge on him [Oswald], just a case of simple murder [of the President]."[120-c] Wade noted the U.S. Attorney, Barefoot Sanders—a Johnson appointee—was not ". . . real conversant . . . with what the law is in a murder charge."[120-d]

Within 24 hours after the assassination the conspiracy rumor was discredited by Dean Rusk.[120-e] By that time, it had served its purpose, and the crime had been solved with the jailing of a single malcontent.

For the plot to succeed, the government had to be seized quickly. The rumor aided this. Johnson later tried to explain his rush to assume the office of the Presidency: ". . . I knew it was imperative that I grasp the reins of power and do so without delay. Any hesitation or wavering, any false step, any sign of self-doubt, could have been disastrous."[121]

Later, between Oswald's capture and Saturday night, Johnson telephoned Capt. John W. Fritz, head of the Homicide Department of the Dallas Police Department, and ordered him, three times, ". . . to stop the investigation."

Connally's Wounds

As he faced the President to his rear (fig. 5-4), a bullet hit the back of Connally's Right shoulder, at an angle,[122] causing a long, vertical, oval-shaped wound.[123] It then struck his fifth rib,[124] leaving some metal in his chest,[125] and exited below his right nipple, resulting in a horizontal oval-shaped wound.[126] What remained of the bullet, with it reduces energy;[127] hit the back of his right forearm,[128] which was directly nested to his chest. This further brake up what was left of the bullet, depositing fragments in the wound.[129] In slanting course,[130] only a small portion of the bullet exited from the edge of his palm.[131] What fragment remained was deflected into his thigh.[132]

Clothing Alterations

Connally's clothing would indicate both the position of the wounds and the direction of flight of the bullet and its fragments. Before the FBI could examine them, his clothes were ". . . cleaned and pressed.[133] "Furthermore, the FBI was unable to obtain the clothes until April 1964,[134] over four months after the murder.

The cloth about the holes in the coat, shirt, and trousers lacked any trace of metal,[135] which made it impossible to determine if a bullet had even gone through them.[136] If Connally was within 18 inches of the gun nuzzle, powder residues at that distance would show up during an FBI Laboratory examination;[137] cleaning would remove them.

Other discrepancies appeared when the wounds in Connally's body were compared with the holes in his clothes.

The FBI reported that the hole in the back of the coat was elongated horizontally.[138] A Parkland Hospital doctor said that the back wound was elongated vertically.[139] While the FBI stated that the hole in the right sleeve was elongated horizontally.[140] The wound in the forearm was elongated vertically.[141]

Although holes in the coat corresponded with holes in the shirt,[142] because of ". . . Excessive tearing of the cloth, none of these holes [in the shirt] were well defined."[143]

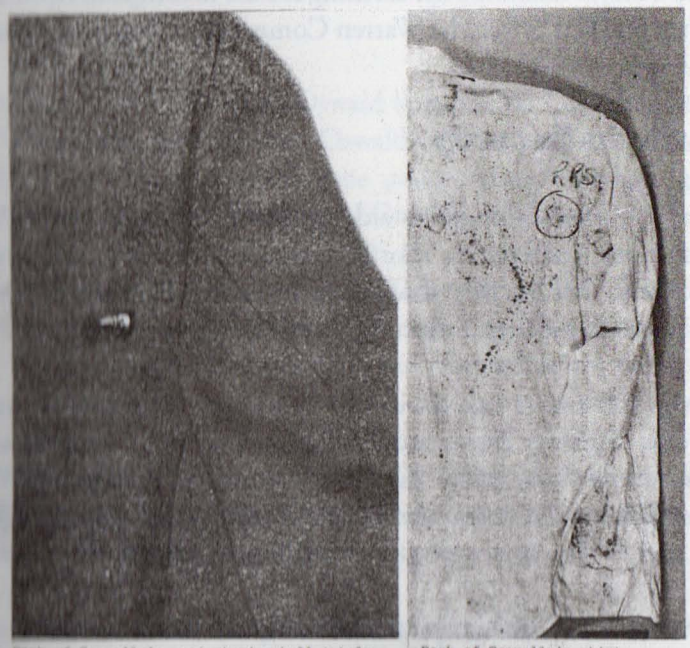
In short, not only was the clothing cleaned but the holes were altered sufficiently to defy analysis (fig. 5-5). (Notice the curious darkened area around the jacket bullet hole which may suggest scorching from a close range muzzle blast).

Who got the clothing? A high-ranking aide of Lyndon Johnson, Clifton C. carter, received the clothing form a Parkland Hospital nurse.[144] Carter signed a slip for the clothing, received the garments in two paper bags, and passed the bags on to Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez.[145] The next day, Nov. 23, 1963, at 3:30a.m., the bags were in the apartment closet of Gonzalez in Washington, D.C.[146]

At Parkland Hospital, the clothing was divided into two groups. One group—tie, trousers, and socks—was given to Connally's wife when Connally underwent surgery.[147] The second group, which contained the key evidence: the coat and shirt, was elsewhere.

FIG 5-4

Commission exhibit 686



Back of Connally's coat showing bullet hole. Commission Exhibit 684.

Back of Connally's shirt. Commission Exhibit 685.

Fig. 5-5 Connally's shirt and coat.

Connally's wife claimed that the coat and shirt were finally found in the closet of Congressman Gonzalez.[148] According to Gonzalez, two Secret Service agents picked-up the clothing ". . . more than two weeks after the assassination . . ."[149] In addition, Connally's wife said. ". . . it was almost two months before any of the investigators showed any interest in examining John's clothing."[150] She asserted that she soaked the shirt in cold water in order to preserve it.[151] Cold water will remove blood stains from clothing.

The coat and trousers, as photo graphed by the FBI show a cleaned and pressed appearance (Fig. 5-5).[152] Their un-rumpled condition is unlikely after storage in paper bags.

The coat, rather than preserved as evidence, was chalked and worn by Connally's stand-in during a Commission reenactment on May 24, 1964.[153]

Parkland doctors examined the clothing for the first time in April 1964,[154] when they testified before the Warren Commission, four months after the assassination.

Connally in Security

On Nov. 22, 1963, Connally's aide hinted at the truth. At a Parkland Hospital press conference, shortly after the shooting, aide reported Connally said, "I think they shot me in the back. "They got the President too."[155] Soon after elaborate Security Precautions were taken.

At 4 P.M., of the same day, about two hours after the scapegoat had been sized, Texas Highway Patrol and Rangers moved in" . . . tightly securing [sic] the second floor where the Governor was being treated."[156] Locks were changed on the doors of the suite of rooms occupied by Connally and his staff.[157] The keys were given to Connally's family.[158]

On November 24th, the hospital administrator, a colonel and a sergeant major with the Texas Dept. of Public safety and a sergeant with the Texas rangers decided to move Connally into room 224 of Parkland.[159] Entry could only be made via room 222.[160] A spotlight was placed ". . . on

the roof outside of rooms 223 and 225, "special window coverings were prepared ". . . of the Governor's room and the adjoining room.[161] A list of hospital employees was given to Highway Patrolmen.[162]

The day after the scapegoat was murdered, Nov. 25, 1963, 20 Highway Patrolmen were brought to Parkland from Tyler, Tex. Some were stationed with rifles on the roof of the hospital.[163]

The intent of these security measures was spelled-out by a colonel with the Texas Dept. of Public safety. He said that no one could see Connally without clearance ". . . and that included the Secret Service . . ."[164]

Newsmen were allowed to interview Connally on Nov. 27 1963, but not until they were completely searched.[165] In addition, they ". . . were asked not to reveal the location of the bed in the room or the other security measures that had been taken."[166] Security assuagement permitted only one newsman into the hospital room with Connally: the rest of the press were in a adjoining room and had to ask questions over the telephone hook-up.[167]

It was on November 23rd, when Oswald learned that Connally had been shot.[168] While under interrogation, Oswald expressed no animosity toward Connally;[169] he was described by one policeman as showing "genuine concern and surprise"[170] at the news of Connally's injuries.

During the Christmas holidays, agent Kellerman of the Secret Service visited Connally. He supposedly talked with Connally about his wrist wound.[171] Or, perhaps, an agreement was reached about the "correct" story.

A new story at Connally's death on June 15, 1993, quoted a friend about Connally's concern for security. When he ran for president as a Republican he refused Secret Service protection.

"I don't want Secret Service protection that's going to get you killed", Connally told his friend.[172]

Chapter Five Endnotes:

1. Elizabeth Cabell, *op. cit.*, v. 7, p. 487.
2. This would explain why Burkley was upset when Presidential aides Powers and O'Donnell prevented him from riding in the jump seat of the Secret Service follow-up car immediately behind the Presidential limousine. He felt, "It's not right," asserting, "the President's personal physician should be much closer to him," even to the extent of ". . . sitting on an agent's lap." (Manchester, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150 (PB)).
3. Lyndon B. Johnson, *The Vantage Point*, p. 26.
   Lady Bird Johnson later wrote that a one-time ". . . shadow walks beside me down the halls of the White House . . . I wonder what it would have been like if we had entered this life unaccompanied by that shadow?" (Lady Bird Johnson, "A White House Dairy, Part II: The Last Years: Doubts and Dilemmas," *McCalls*, December 1970, p. 110)
4. Youngblood referred to Burkley as Johnson's ". . . personal physician . . ." (Youngblood, *20 Years*, p. 181).

4-a CBS Reports Inquiry, "The assasssins" Nov 25, 1975

5. Curry, *op. cit.*, v. 4. p. 161.
6. Mayo. Op. cit., pp. 2, 23.

6-a Arlen specter, Memorandum to Mr. J. Lee Rankin: "Interview of Senator Yarhorough," Dated April 20, 1964, P. 2.

7. Nellie Connally, "Since That Day in Dallas," *McCalls* August 1964, p. 79.
9. Manchester, *op. cit.*, p. 193 (PB).
10. Youngblood, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 151.
    Hurchel D. Jacks, *loc. cit.*
11. Theodore white, *op. cit.*, p. 202 (p3)
12. Manchester, *op. cit.*, p. 202 (PB).
13. *Ibid.*
14. Knebel, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
    According to Youngblood, Johnson ". . . instructed me to have everyone around him take notes . . . He wanted our memories committed to paper while they were fresh." (Youngblood, *20 Years*, p. 128).
15. Interview with Stavis Ellis.

16. UPI, *Four Days*, p. 25. Shirley randall, "Charles J. Price Exhibit No. 22. "activities of Shirley Randall, aide on November 22, 1963," in Hearings, v. 21, p. 217.

16-a Doris M. Nelson, "Nelson Exhibit No. 1. 'copy of a statement made by Doris Nelson concerning her activities at Parkland Hospital on November 22, 1963,'" in Hearings, v. 20, p. 640.

17. Jack price, "Charles J. Price Exhibit No. 33. '[Statement dated nov. 27, 1963, 1:52 p.m.], "in Hearings, v. 21, p. 261.
    Andrew F. Berger, op. cit., v. 18 p. 795
    Richard e. Johnsen, op. cit., v. 18, p. 798
    Manchester, op. cit., p. 206 (PB).
18. Hurchel D. Jacks, *loc. cit.*
19. Milton T. Wright, "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. 'Statement of Milton T. Wright, Texas Highway Patrolman, made on November 28, 1963,' within Letter . . ." in Hearings, v. 18, p. 802.
20. Charles D. Gerloff, "Price Exhibit No. 29. '[Statement dated Nov. 28, 1963],'" in Hearings, v. 21, p. 237.
21. Interview with Stavis Ellis.
22. Forrest V. Sorrels rode in the lead car, driven by Chief Curry, to Parkland Hospital.
    Within the next hour. Sorrels rushed back to the Plaza. There, he located a witness who claimed to have seen a rifle fired from the depository. He also found amateur photographer Abraham Zapruder and offered to take both him and his film to a lab.
    In February 1964, when the FBI was trying to locate photographs of the President's body at Parkland, they interviewed Sorrels. Sorrels told FBI agent Allred D. Neeley that no pictures were taken of the President at Parkland. Sorrels also asserted, ". . . he remained at the hospital until the President's body was taken to Love Field." (*Commission Document No. 735*, p. 12.) The president's body left Parkland at 2:04. During much of this time, Sorrels was in another part of Dallas finding witnesses and collecting evidence (Sorrels, *op cit.*, v. 7, p. 347).
    A photo by news photographer William Allen shows Sorrels in Dealey Plaza with the clock, on top of the Depository, reading 12:40 p.m.
23. Charles J. Carrico, "Testimony of Dr. Charles James Carrico [dated March 30, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 3, p. 361.

_____, "Testimony of Dr. Charles J. Carrico [dated March 25, 1964," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 3.

_____, "*Commission Exhibit No. 392.* 'Parkland Memorial Hospital Admission Note [dated Nov. 22, 1963, 4:20 p.m.],' within Medical reports from doctors at Parkland Hospital, Dallas, Texas, concerning treatment of President Kennedy at that hospital on Nov. 22, 1963," in Hearings, v. 17, p. 4.

Malcolm O. Perry, "Testimony of Dr. Malcolm Perry [dated March 30, 1964],' within Medical reports . . ." in Hearings, v. 3, pp. 368, 369.

_____, "Testimony of Dr. Malcolm Oliver Perry [dated March 25, 1964],' in Hearings, v. 6, pp. 9, 15, 16.

_____, "Commission Exhibits No. 392. 'Parkland Memorial Hospital Admission Note [dated Nov. 22, 1963],' within Medical reports . . ." in Hearings, v. 17, p. 6.

Charles R. Baxter, "Testimony of Charles Rufus Baxter [dated March 24, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 42.

_____, "Commission Exhibit No. 392. 'Parkland Memorial Hospital Admission Notes [dated Nov. 22, 1963],' within Medical reports . . ." in Hearings, v. 17, p. 8.

Ronald C Jones, "Testimony of Dr. Ronald Coy Jones [dated March 24, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, pp. 53, 54, 55.

Margaret N. Henchliffe, "Testimony of Margaret M. Henchliffe [dated March 21, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 141.

Dr. Baxter placed it at about 1 ½ inches (3.84 cm) above the notch of the breastbone (Baxter, *op cit.*, v. 6, p. 42).

25. Carrico, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 362: ". . . fairly round . . ."
Ibid: ". . . an even round wound."
Ibid: v. 6, p. 3: ". . . rather round . . ."
Perry, *op. cit.*, v. 3, pp. 368, 374: ". . . roughly circular wound . . ."
Ibid, v. 6, pp. 9, 15: ". . . roughly spherical to oval in shape . . ."
Baxter, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 42: ". . . a spherical wound."
Henchliffe, *op cit.*, v. 6, p. 141: ". . . just a little round hole . . ."

26. Carrico, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 362: ". . . had no ragged edges . . ."
Ibid., v. 6, p. 3: ". . . no jagged edges . . ."
Perry, *op. cit.*, v. 3, pp. 372, 388: v. 6, p. 9: ". . . edges were neither ragged nor where they punched out, but rather clean."
Ibid., v. 6, p. 15: ". . . not unlike a rather large puncture wound . . ."

Jones, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 54, 55: ". . . relatively smooth edges . . ."
". . . relatively clean cut . . ."
Henchliffe, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 141: ". . . jagged a little bit."

27. Carrico, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 362.
Jones, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 54.
Gene C. Akin, "Testimony of Dr. Gene Coleman Akin [dated March 25, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 65.

28. Departments of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force, TM 8-300, NAVMKED P-5065, AFM 160-19, *Autopsy Manual*, p. 60

29. Jones, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 54.

30. Akin, *loc. cit.*,

31. *Ibid.*

32. Perry, *op. cit.*, v. 3, pp. 368, 372, 388; v. 6, pp. 9, 16; v. 17, p. 6.

33. *Ibid.*, v. 3, pp. 369, 380; v. 6, p. 16.

34. Perry, *op. cit.*, v. 3, pp. 369, 380; v. 6, pp. 10, 16.
Baxter, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 42.
Perry told reporter Jimmy Breslin that "The incision had to be made below the bullet wound." (*Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 24, 1963, Sect. B, pp. 1, 7).

35. Perry, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 370; v. 6, p. 10.
Robert N. McClelland, "Testimony of Dr. Robert Nelson McClelland [dated March 21, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 33.
Baxter, *loc. cit.*,

36. Perry, *op. cit.*, v. 3, pp. 370, 374, 376; v. 6, p. 10; v. 17, p. 6.
Carrico, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 3; v. 17, p. 4.

37. McClelland, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 33.
_____, "Commission Exhibit No. 392. 'Parkland Memorial Hospital Admission Note [dated Nov. 22, 1963, 4:45 p.m.],' within Medical reports . . ." in Hearings, v. 17, p. 11.

38. Perry, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 370; v. 6, p. 10.
Baxter, *op. cit.*

39. Perry, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 371; v. 6, p. 10.
William K. Clark, "Testimony of Dr. Kemp Clark Resumed [dated March 25, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 28.
Marion T. Jenkins, "Testimony of Dr. Marion Thomas Jenkins [dated March 25, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 51.
Perry told reporter Jimmy Breslin that "There was a mediastinal wound . . . in connection with the bullet hole in the chest." (*Los*

Angeles Times, Nov. 24, 1963, pp. 1, 7). When this story was printed in December, it read, "There was a mediastinal wound in connection with the bullet hole in the throat." (*Saturday Evening Post*, Dec. 14, 1963, p. 30).
Dr. Clark stated, ". . . one [bullet] struck him at about the necktie know. 'It ranged downward in his chest and did not exit.'" (*New York Times*, Nov. 27, 1963, p. 20).

40. Clark, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 28.
41. Perry, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 371; v. 6, p. 11.
42. Carrico, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 6: ". . . right occipitoparietal . . ." v. 3, p. 361; ". . . posterior skull, the occipital region . . ."
Perry, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 9: ". . . right posterior parietal area . . ." v. 6, p. 11: ". . . right occipitoparietal cranium . . ." v. 3, p. 372: ". . . right parietal occipital area . . ."
Clark, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 20: ". . . right posterior part . . ." v. 5, p. 29: ". . . right occipital region . . ." v. 17, p. 3: "right occipital region . . ." v. 17, p. 10: ". . . right occipital extending to the parietal region."
McClelland, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 33: ". . . right posterior portion . . ."
Jones, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 53: ". . . right posterior side."
Akin, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 65, 67: ". . . right occipital parietal . . ."
Paul C. Peters, "Testimony of Dr. Paul Conrad Peters [dated March 24, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 71: ". . . right occipital parietal area . . ."
Some of the physicians included the temporal bone in the area of damage:
Baxter, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 41: ". . . temporal parietal bones were missing . . ." v. 17, p. 8: ". . . right temporal and occipital bones were missing . . ."
Kenneth F. Salyer, "Testimony of Dr. Kenneth Everett Salyer [dated March 25, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 81; ". . . right temporal area . . ."
Jenkins, *op. cit.*, v. 17, p. 15: ". . . temporal and occipital . . ."
Dr. McClelland observed that the right, rear half of the parietal bone and some of the right side of the occipital bone seemed to be fractured (McClelland, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 33).
43. Carrico, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 3, 6.
Note: in v. 3, p. 361, is the typographic error of 5-71 cm.

44. *Ibid.*
Jones, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 53.
Don T. Curtis, "Testimony of Dr. Don Tell Curtin [dated March 24, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 60.
Akin, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 66.
45. Both cerebral and cerebellar brain tissue.
Carrico, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 6.
Clark, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 20.
McClelland, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 33.
46. McClelland, *loc. cit.*, The torn venous channels accounted for much of the heavy bleeding.
47. Akin, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 67.
48. Clark, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 21.
49. *Ibid.*
50. McClelland, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 38.
51. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 48, 51.
52. McClelland, *op. cit.*, v. 17, p. 12.
53. *Philadelphia Sunday Bulletin*, Nov. 24, 1963.
54. WOR Radio, Nov. 22, 1963, 2:43 p.m. CST.
55. Chet Huntley, *NBC News*, 1:47 p.m. CST.
56. Carrico, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 358; v. 6, p. 5.
Perry, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 366.
McClelland, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 31.
Baxter, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 43.
Jenkins, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 50.
Jones, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 55.
Akin, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 65.
57. Perry, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 13.
McClelland, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 35, 37.
Jones, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 56.
Peters, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 71.
58. Manchester, *op. cit.*, p. 403 (PB).
59. *NBC Log*, Nov. 22, 1963, p. 8, 2:36 p.m. CST
60. Robert Pierpoint, *CBS News*, 6:15 p.m. CST.
61. Perry, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 378.
62. Mark Eckhoff, Letter to Fred T. Newcomb, dated August 3, 1970.
63. *New York Times*, Nov. 27, 1963, p. 20.

64. *Commission Document No. 379.*
65. Carrico, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 363; v. 6, p. 6.
Perry, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 17.
Clark, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 27.
Jones, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 57.
66. Carrico, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 364.
67. Perry, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 387.
Carrico, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 7.
68. Carrico, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 7.
Clark, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 27.
Baxter, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 44.
Jenkins, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 50, 51.
Jones, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 57.
Bashour, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 63.
Giesecke, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 75.
69. Carrico, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 363.
70. Only one doctor indicated that Burkley asked that the President be given steroids (Peters, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 69). The other doctors said that the President's adrenal insufficiency was common knowledge; no one was consulted on the scene (Carrico, *op. cit.*, v. 3, 0. 361; Perry, *op. cit.*, v. 3, pp. 370, 377; Jones, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 55). Burkley stated he gave Parkland doctors information about the President's blood group (George G. Burkley, "Commission Exhibit No. 1126. 'Statement dated November 27, 1963, of Dr. George G. Burkley, physician to the President,'" in Hearings, v. 22, p. 94). No doctor confirmed this.
71. George G. Burkley, "Commission exhibit No. 1126.'Statement dated November 27, 1963, of Dr. George G. Burkley, physician to the President, "in Hearings, v. 22, p. 94.
Note: In the official report of medical efforts at Parkland in the *Texas State Journal of Medicine* (v. 60, Jan. 1964, pp. 61-65) Burkley was not mentioned.
Burkley also failed to prove "direct services" on an earlier occasion for the President. In the fall of 1962, after the President's father had suffered a seizure, "the President told the Admiral [Burkley] to stay with his father . . ." Instead, Burkley left, supposedly to see about emergency supplies. The President ". . . was furious that the Admiral had left even for a moment," and instructed an

agent to tell Burkley ". . . that I said he's to sit with my dad all the time . . . until the other doctors get here." (Rita Dallas, "The Kennedy Case," pt. 2, *McCall's*, June 1973, p. 128).
72. Clark, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 25, 30.
73. Burkley, *op. cit.*, v. 22, p. 95.
74. O'Donnell, *op. cit.*, v. 7, p. 452.
75. Burkley, *loc. cit.*
75-a Newsweek, Dec. 2, 1963, p. 24.
Time, Nov. 29, 1963, p. 25.
The Torch Is Padded, p. 22.
76. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, v. 7, p. 468.
77. Charles J. Price, "Price Exhibit No. 33 . . ." *op. cit.*, v. 21, p. 260.
77-a Manchester writes that adm. Burkley asked, "We just want a casket a basket—something you can carry a body out with." (Manchester, *op., cit.*, p. 331 (PB)
78. Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
79. Interview with Jesse F. Curry.
80. Manchester, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-346 (PB).
81. Curry, *loc. cit.*
82. *Ibid.*
Later, Secret Service Chief Rowley explained to the Warren Commission, "Special Agent Lawson, through Dr. Burkley, arranged with Sheriff William Decker for the release of President Kennedy's body." (James J. Rowley, "Commission Exhibit No. 1026. Secret Service memorandum dated March 19, 1964, re 'Secret Service Report on the Assassination of President Kennedy,'" in Hearings, v. 18, p. 814).
83. 18 U.S.C. 1114. Manchester, *op. cit.*, p. 313 (PB).
84. *CBS*, Nov. 22, 1963, 12:45 CST.
85. *CBS*, Nov. 22, 1963, 1:23 p.m. CST
86. Seth Kantor, "Kantor Exhibit No. 4 . . ." in Hearings, v. 20, p. 410.
87. Manchester, *op. cit.*, p. 192 (PB).
88. Dallas Police Department, "Commission Exhibit No. 705. 'Channel 2' with radio logs for Nov. 22, 1963 [dated March 23, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 17, p. 479.
89. *Dallas Times Herald*, Nov. 22, 1963, p. 1.
90. *NBC News*, Nov. 22, 1963, 3:40 p.m.

91. *Commission Document No. 677,* p. 2.
92. Manchester, *op. cit.*, p. 205 (PB).
93. Samuel A. Kinney, "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. [Statement dated Nov. 22, 1963]," within Letter . . ." in Hearings, v. 18, p. 732.
    George W. Hickey, Jr., "Commission Exhibit No. 1024 'Activities of S.A. George W. Hickey, Jr. from the time he arrived at Love Airfield, Dallas, Texas, Thursday, November 21, 1963, to the time he departed from the above Love Airfield, Friday, November 22, 1963 [dated Nov. 30, 1963],' within Letter . . ." in Hearings, v. 18, p. 763.
    Note: According to a photograph, Kinney had help from a Dallas Police Department officer in placing the top on the limousine (Jesse F. Curry *JFK Assassination File*, p. 36).
94. Joe L. Richards, "Price Exhibit No. 17. 'Activities of Joe Lewis Richards, orderly, on Nov. 22, 1963,'" in Hearings, v. 21, p. 226.
95. Shirley Randall, "Price Exhibit No. 22. 'Activities of Shirley Randall, aide on November 22, 1963,'" in Hearings, v. 21, p. 217.
96. *Ibid.*
97. "The Assassination," *Time,* Nov. 29, 1963, p. 24.
98. *New York Times,* Nov. 23, 1963, p. 2.
99. *ABC,* "The Day the President Was Shot," broadcast on Nov. 22, 1963, a network special with newsman Don Gardner.
100. Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 352.
101. Robert A. Frazier, "Testimony of Robert A. Frazier [dated May 13, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 5, p. 71.
102. Kellerman, *op. cit.*, v. 18, p. 726.
    Agents Kinney, Hickey and Howlett were en route to the airport (George W. Hickey, Jr., *op. cit.*, v. 18, p. 764; John J. Howlett, "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. '[Statement dated Nov. 22, 1963], within Letter . . ." in Hearings, v. 18, pp. 793-794). Hickey drove the limousine with Howlett next to him in the front seat; Kinney steered the follow-up car (*Ibid.*).
103. *Commission Exhibits No. 1974.* "FBI report dated Aug. 11, 1964 at Dallas, Tex., of transcripts of Dallas police radio transmissions covering period of Nov. 22-24, 1963 (CD 1420)," in Hearings, v. 23, p. 919.

104. Manchester, *op. cit.*, p. 303 (PB).
105. Dallas Police Department, "Commission Exhibit No. 705. 'Channel 2,'" *op. cit.*, v. 17, p. 485.
106. Samuel A. Kinney, *op. cit.*, v. 18, p. 731.
107. Manchester, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
108. O'Donnell, *op. cit.*, v. 7, p. 451.
109. *Newsweek,* Jan. 6, 1964, p. 20.
110. *Ibid.*
111. Jim Bishop, "The Day J.F.K. Died," *Ladies Home Journal,* Nov. 1968, pp. 152-153. This was advertised on the magazine's cover as ". . . Tells L.B.J.'s Story."
112. Hugh Sidney, *A Very Personal Presidency,* pp. 30-31.
113. Knebel, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
114. Mayo, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
115. Interview with Jesse F. Curry.
116. Stewart Alsop, "Johnson Takes Over: The Untold Story," *Saturday Evening Post,* Feb. 15, 1964, p. 18.
117. Manchester, *op. cit.*, p. 289 (PB).
118. *Ibid.*, pp. 220, 761 (PB).
119. NBC, *There Was A President,* p. 30.
120. Knebel, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
120-0 Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President 1964*, p. 48 (PB).
    Unknown to Johnson, Kennedy had all conversations taped during flight (Manchester, *op. cit.*, p. 423 (PB)). In 1965, Johnson only allowed Manchester ". . . to read an edited transcript [of the flight tape] at the White House." (*Ibid.*).
    White indicated the tape was in the National Archives (White, *op. cit.*, p. 20 (PB)). The Archivist was unable to locate it in 1967 (Robert H. Balmer, Letter to Vincent J. Salandria, dated Nov. 20, 1967). Pierre Salinger obtained a transcript from the White House Communication Agency and included it in his papers at the Archives (Pierre Salinger, Letter to Vincent J. Salandria, dated Dec. 26, 1967). Again the Archivist was unable to locate it (Robert H. Dalmer, Letter to Vincent J. Salandria, dated Jan. 9, 1968). A letter directed to the White House Communication Agency was answered by Col. James U. Cross, Armed Forces aide to Johnson, who said the tapes were for ". . . official use only." And could not

be released (James U. Cross, Letter to Vincent J. Salandria, dated Jan. 2, 1968). Cross, who piloted Air Force One for five years, was later appointed by Johnson to be executive director of LBJ State Park in Stonewall, Texas (*Los Angeles Times,* June 21, 1973, Pt. 1-A, p. 2).

Then a letter sent to the Archives in 1974 was ". . . referred to the John F. Kennedy Library for reply." (Daniel J. Reed, letter to Fred T. Newcomb, dated Dec. 5, 1974).

120-1. "Arraignment of Oswald for John F. Kennedy's murder 11-23-63 at approx. 1:35 am, "within Commission Exhibit No. 2003, "Dallas Police Dept. file on investigation of the assassination of the President (CD 81b, all pages)," in Hearings, v. 24, p. 232.

120-a Henry Wade, "Testimony of Henry Wade [dated June 8, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 5, p. 218.

121-b. *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219.

Manchester states Wade's ". . . second assistant, William F. 'Bill' Alexander, prepared to charge Oswald with murdering the President 'as part of an international communist conspiracy.'" (Manchester, *op. cit.,* p. 287). Alexander denied this to Wade (Wade, *op. cit.,* v. 5, p. 218).

Sheriff J. W. Decker felt, "It is not inconceivable that the whole plot could have been hatched in Russia," (Elmer Gertz, *Moment of Madness: The People vs. Jack Ruby,* p. 26).

120-c. Wade, *op. cit.,* v. 5, p. 219.

120-d. *Ibid.*

According to Manchester, ". . . when Barefoot Sanders heard of it [international conspiracy charge] from the FBI he phoned Nick Katzenbach [Deputy Attorney General], who persuaded two members of the Vice President's Washington staff to have their Texas contacts kill it." (Manchester, *op. cit.,* p. 287).

120-e. Dean Rusk, "Testimony of the Hon. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State [dated June 10, 1964]," in Hearings, v, 5, pp. 367, 368.

121. Johnson, *The Vantage Point,* p. 18.

122. Robert H. Shaw, "Testimony of Dr. Robert Shaw [dated March 23, 19664]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 95.

Dr. Shaw indicated that, given the shape of the entrance wound on the back, the bullet hit Connally at a tangent (*Ibid.*).

123. The wound on the back of Connally's right shoulder was 2 cm (0.78") from the edge of the shoulder blade, about sideway from the fold in the armpit [a]. In the longest diameter, it was 1.5 cm (0.585") in size [b]. It was elliptical in shape, with a long and a short diameter, unlike a puncture wound [c]. Dr. Gregory described it as ". . . sort of a linear wound, perhaps three-quarters of an inch in length [1.92 cm] with a rounded central portion" [d].

a. Robert R. Shaw, "Commission Exhibit No. 392. 'Parkland Memorial Hospital Operative Record [dated Nov. 22, 1963," within Medical reports . . ." in Hearings, v. 17, p. 16.
_____, *op. cit.,* v. 6, p. 85.
_____, "Testimony of Dr. Robert Roader Shaw [dated April 21, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 4, p. 104.
Connally, *op. cit.,* v. 4, p. 136.

b. Shaw, *op. cit.,* v. 6, pp. 85, 86; v. 4, pp. 104, 107.
Note: Shaw originally said it was 3 cm (1.17") long (v. 17, p. 16), but later indicated, "The skin surrounding the wound was removed . . . enlarging the incision to approximately 3 cm . . ." (v. 6, p. 88).

c. *Ibid.*, v. 6, pp. 85, 95; v. 4, pp. 104, 107-108.

d. Charles F. Gregory, "Testimony of Dr. Charles Francis Gregory [dated March 23, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 97.

124. The bullet hit the middle of the fifth rib and followed its downward slant. [a] While Connally was seated, during testimony before the Warren Commission, Dr. Shaw used calipers and found the angle from back-to-front to be 25-27 degrees [b].

a. Shaw, *op. cit.,* v. 6, pp. 85, 86; v. 4, p. 112.

b. Connally, *op. cit.,* v. 4, pp. 137, 138.

125. Shaw claimed that he saw no metal in the chest during surgery or on x-rays. [a] Dr. Shires, however, disagreed. He stated, ". . . from postoperative x-rays, there is a small fragment remaining [in the chest] . . ." [b]

a. Shaw, *op. cit.,* v. 4, p. 105.

b. George T. Shires, "Testimony of Dr. George T. Shires [dated March 23, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 111.

126. The wound in Connally's chest was 2" (5.12 cm) below and 2" to the left of his right nipple. [a] Its size was given as from 1 ½ (3.84

cm) [b] to 5 cm 1.95") in diameter [c] It appeared to be ragged, and round, or oval in shape [d]. a. Shaw, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 85; v. 4, p. 137.
Gregory, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 97.
Connally, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 136.
c. Gregory, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 97.
d. Shaw, *op. cit.*, v. 17, p. 16; v. 6, p. 85, v. 4, p. 137
c. *Ibid.*, v. 17, p. 16, v. 6, pp. 85, 87; v. 4, p. 137.

127. Dr. Gregory felt that the damage was due to ". . . an irregular missile . . . one that had been distorted (Gregory, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 124). Furthermore, very little energy was spent in creating the wound. (*Ibid.*, v. 4, pp. 128-129).

128. The wound on the back of Connally's forearm was slightly toward the thumb side from the middle [a]. Connally placed it ". . . and inch [2.56 cm] above the wrist bone . . ."[b] Dr. Gregory placed it from 1 ½-2" (3.84-5.12 cm) to 5 cm (1.95") above the wrist. [c] in size, the wound was 2 cm (0.78") to 0.5 by 2.5 cm (0.195 x 0.975") long. [d] It appeared ragged, oblique, and linear, with gapping at its upper part. [e]
a. Charles F. Gregory, "Commission Exhibit No. 392. 'Parkland Memorial Hospital Operative Record [dated Nov. 22, 1963],' within Medical reports . . ." in Hearings, v. 17, p. 18.
Gregory, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 97-98.
_____, Testimony of Dr. Charles Francis Gregory [dated April 21, 1963]," in Hearings, v. 4, p. 118.
Shaw, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 97-98; v. 4, pp. 118, 120.
b. Connally, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 135.
c. Gregory, *op cit.*, v. 6, pp. 97-98; v. 4, pp. 118, 120.
d. *Ibid.*, v. 17, p. 18; v. 6, p. 97; v. 4, p. 124.
e. *Ibid.*, v. 6, p. 97; v. 17, p. 18; v. 4, p 124
Shaw, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 108.

129. Both cloth and metal were in the wound. [a] Dr. Gregory said that 2-3 metal fragments were removed. [b] They were flake-like, ranging from 0.5-2mm (0.002-0.08") in diameter, and weighing in micrograms. [c] They were silver or lead in color, not copper or brass. [d]
a. Gregory, *op cit.*, v. 17, p. 18.
Shaw, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 95.

b. Gregory, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 98.
c. *Ibid.*, v. 4, p. 120.
d. *Ibid.*, v. 4, p. 122. Note: the planted, scenario bullets were full copper-jacketed, according to FBI Lab Report, *Commission Document No. 5*, p. 163.

130. The location of the two forearm wounds indicated a slanting course for the bullet. (Gregory, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 120).

131. On the palm side of the forearm, the wound was at the center of the wrist. [a] Connally felt it was 0.75-1: (1.92-2.56 cm) from the edge of his palm. [b] Dr. Gregory located it 1.52-2. cm (0.585-0.78") from the large, heavy crease at the wrist, and in a skin crease. [c] Dr. Gregory, in his testimony, gave three different dimensions for the wound: 0.5 cm (0.195) [d] 1.0 cm (0.39") [e] and 1.5 cm (5.85") [f] It appeared to be a small tear, running crosswise, without gapping [g]
a. Gregory, *op. cit.*, v. 17, p. 18; v. 4, p. 118.
Connally, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 135.
b. Connally, *loc. cit.*
c. Gregory, *op. cit.*, v. 17, p. 18; v. 6. p. 98; v. 4, pp. 118, 120, 123.
d. *Ibid.*, v. 4, p. 124.
e. *Ibid.*, v. 6, p. 98.
f. *Ibid.*, v. 4, p. 123.
g. *Ibid.*, v. 6, p. 98; v. 4, pp. 123, 124.

132. The thigh wound was 5-6" (12.8-15.38 cm) above the knee. [a] Connally believed it was from 0.25-0.33" (0.64-0.846 cm) wide. [b] The doctors estimated its size at 6 mm (0.24") to 1 cm (0.39"). [c] In shape, Dr. Gregory felt it was ". . . almost round . . ." [d] to ". . . rounded . . ." [e] Dr. Shaw noted it as ". . . the slit in the skin . . ." {f} It appeared to be a puncture wound. [g]
A bullet fragment, which was not removed, was found against the thigh bone. [h] Estimates gave its size from 0.5 x 2 mm (0.02 x 0.08") [I] to 1 x 2 mm (0.04 x 0.08") [j] and weight of about 0.1 grain. [[k]
Given the fact that the wound was larger than the fragment, [l] the doctors believed that the wound was tangential. [m]

In position, Connally said that his knees might have been ½"-1" higher in the limousine jump seat than they would be sitting in a chair [n]

Dr. Gregory said that ". . . he removed from the [Governor's] arm a small fragment of metal." [o] He gave this to Miss Audrey Bell, who, in turn, gave it to Highway Patrolman Bobby M. Nolan. [p] Nolan turned it over to Capt. Will Fritz of the Dallas Police Department at 7:50 p.m. on November 22, 1963. [q] FBI agent Vincent F. Drain obtained it from Fritz and brought it to the FBI laboratory on November 23, 1963. [r] The fragment, [s] a piece of lead which weighed 0.5 grains, lacked ". . . any physical characteristics which would permit stating whether or not it actually originated from a bullet." [t]

A postoperative x-ray of Connally's thigh on November 29, 1963, showed the presence of a small fragment. [u] A hospital administrator measured the fragment as between 1.3-1.5 mm wide and 2-3.5 mm long [v].

a. Gregory, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 138.
b. Connally, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 135.
c. Gregory, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 124; v. 6, p. 94.
Shires, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 106.
_____, "Commission Exhibit No. 392. 'Parkland Memorial Hospital Operative Record [dated Nov. 22, 1963]," within Medical reports . . ." in Hearings, v. 17, p. 20
d. Gregory, *op. cit.*, v. 5, p. 99.
e. *Ibid.*, v. 4, p. 124.
f. Shaw, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 91.
g. Gregory, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 124.
Shaw, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 111.
Shires, *op. cit.*, v. 17, p. 20; v. 6, p. 106.
h. Shires, *loc. cit.*
i. Gregory, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 125.
j. *Ibid.*, v. 6, p. 99.
k. Shires, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 106.
l. Gregory, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 99, 125.
Shires, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 111.
m. Shaw, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 91.
Shires, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 106, 111.

n. Connally, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 140.
o. *Commission Document No. 5*, p. 154.
p. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
q. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
r. Frazier, *op. cit.*, v. 5, p. 72.
s. "Commission Exhibit No. 842. 'Small fragment of metal from wrist of Governor Connally,'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 841.
t. Frazier, *loc. cit.*
u. *Commission document No. 5*, p. 157.
v. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

133. Frazier, *op. cit.*, v. 5, pp. 63, 64, 65.

134. Commission Document No. 1066, p. 282.
135. Ibid., p. 283.
136. Frazier, *loc. cit.*,
137. Armed Forces, *Autopsy Manual*, p. 60: "if the bullet was fired from close range (under 18 inches), chemical or metallic residues are likely to be present on the skin or clothing of the wounded person."
138. According to the FBI, "The hole in the back of the coat is approximately ¼ [wide] by 5/8/" (0.6 cm x 1.6 cm), being elongated in a horizontal direction. *Commission Document No. 1066*, p. 282.
139. "Commission Exhibit No. 679. 'Body diagram marked by Dr. Shaw to show entry and exit wounds on Governor Connally's chest, wrist, and thigh,'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 336.
Note: Dr. Shires said the Secret Service prepared the original charts (v. 6, p. 112). Dr. Shaw had to correct them and the revised ones (v. 6, pp. 86-87; v. 4, pp. 104-105, 126).
140. The hole was 3/8" x 5/8" (0.96 x 1.6 cm). *Commission Document No. 1066*, p. 282.
141. "Commission Exhibit No. 679," *loc. cit.*
142. Commission Document No. 1066, p. 282.
143. *Ibid.*
144. Ruth J. Standridge, "Testimony of Ruth Jeanette Standridge [dated March 21, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 118.
Note: During the motorcade, Carter set in the front seat of the Vice-President's follow-up car. Carter had the Secret Service radio

on his lap while the first shot was fired from the car (Carter, *op. cit.*, v. 7, p. 474).

Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez stated that a nurse at Parkland " . . . quite frantically . . . tried to turn them [Connally's clothing] over to either Cliff Carter, an LBJ aide . . . or I" (Henry B. Gonzalez, Letter to Fred T. Newcomb, dated November 1, 1974, p. 1)

145. Fletcher Knebel, "After the Photos: The Ordeal of Lyndon Johnson," *Look,* March 10, 1964, p. 28.

Note: This slip is absent from the Warren Commission's evidence.

According to Gonzalez, "Cliff simply did not want to be burdened with the sack and wanted me to take it instead." (*Gonzalez, *Ibid.,*)

146. Knebel, *op. cit.,* p. 33.

Gonzalez said he retained the clothing " . . . because I had not been able to turn it over to anyone else." (Gonzalez *Ibid.,* p. 2)

147 "A Matter of Reasonable Doubt," *Life,* Nov. 25, 1966, p. 48.

148. Ibid.

149. Henry B. Gonzalez, Letter to Fred T. Newcomb, dated Nov. 15, 1974.

_____, Letter to Fred T. Newcomb, dated Nov. 1, 1974, p. 2.

150. Life, loc. cit.

151. Ibid.

152. "Commission Exhibit No. 683. 'Front view of coat worn by Gov. Connally at time of the assassination,'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 340.

"Commission Exhibit No. 684. 'Back view of coat worn by Gov. Connally at time of the assassination,'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 341.

"Commission Exhibit No. 687. 'Front view of pants worn by Gov. Connally at the time of the assassination,'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 344.

153. Thomas J. Kelley "testimony of Thomas J. Kelley [dated June 4,1964]," in hearings, v. 5. P.134.

154. Shaw op.cit., v.4. p. 112

a. "Connalley's bullet-torn suit, his necktie, and his shirt with French cuffs were displayed for a time at the state archives

in Austin, and the clothing is still there. However, to see them , one must get Connally's personal permission." (Ann P. Crawford and Jack Keever, John B. Connally: Partrait in Power, p.229.)

155. Ronnie Dugger, Texas Observer , Nov. 29, 1963, p. 6.

156. O.P. Wright, "Charles J. Price Exhibit no. 29.'memo no. 246 dated Dec 4,1963," in Hearings, v. 21, p.230.

157. Steve Landregan, "Charles J. Price Exhibit no. 7.[statement]." in Hearings, v.21,p.168.

158. Ibid.

159. Ibid., p. 174

160. Ibid.,pp.174-175.

161. Ibid., p. 175

162. Ibid.

163. Dallas Morning News, Nov. 26,1963.

164. New York Times Nov. 25 1963.

165. Washington Post, Nov. 28, 1963.

166. Ibid.

167. ABC TV log,

168. James W. Bookhout, "testimony of James w. Bookhout [dated April 8.1964,"in Hearings, v. 7, p. 315.

169. Harry d. Holmes, "Testimony of Harry D. Holmes [dated april 2, 1964], " in Hearings, v.7, pp. 304-305

170. Charles Ashman, Connally, the Adventures of big Bad John., P.43

171. Kellerman, op. cit., v.2, p. 83.

172. NPR Radio Austin Texas 6/16/93 Wade Goodwin reporter.

Chapter Six

Bethesda

How Kennedy's Wounds Were Altered

Kennedy's body was aboard and Johnson had been sworn-in as President when the Presidential plane left Dallas for Andrews Air Force Base in Washington, D.C. But the Parkland doctors' press conference heard on the plane compelled the plotters to make certain decisions. The doctors talked of entrance wounds in the throat and temple. Therefore, the body had to be altered to disprove that, and the assassin's bullets had to be removed. Details to be considered included clothing, films, and medical documents.

A Naval hospital offered the best control: Burkley was Navy and also held the high rank of Rear Admiral. Under the guise of the need for an autopsy, Burkley spoke to Mrs. Kennedy. He said, "It's going to be necessary to take the President to a hospital . . . the doctors must remove the bullet."[1] He persuaded her to have the body taken to Bethesda Naval Hospital.[2] Reinforcement of the Bethesda plan was supplied by Capt. R.O. Canada, Jr., who ". . . had once been George Burkley's shipmate,"[3] as well as Lyndon Johnson's doctor[4] Canada was the commanding officer of Bethesda and had an ambulance sent to Andrews Air Force Base for the body.[5]

The necessary alterations on the body would produce an unwanted side effect: disfigurement of the face. This would later require control of the autopsy pictures, but a more immediate step could be taken. At 3:31 p.m.

CST, during the flight, NBC announced that the "casket will be closed at the funeral."[6] The Kennedy family did not decide on a closed casket until the next day when they saw the body.[7] Three hours of work by a cosmetician could only produce a face that looked like a wax dummy.[8]

Johnson wanted Mrs. Kennedy to change her bloodstained clothes because an immaculate appearance by her in a photograph of his swearing-in could soften the public's memory of Elm Street.[9] Burkley, now Johnson's physician,[10] tried to persuade her.[11] She refused, "No. I want them to see what they've done."[12]

Mrs. Kennedy sat with Presidential Assistant Kenneth P. O'Donnell in the rear of the plane with the casket. O'Donnell, familiar with those now in control of the White House, exclaimed, "They did it. I always knew they'd do it. You couldn't expect anything else from them. They finally made it."[13]

After the plane landed, Johnson wanted to leave the plane with the casket and Mrs. Kennedy, but Kennedy aides blocked his way. He was forced to wait and use another exit.[14]

As Johnson left the plane, the first hand he shook at the bottom of the plane ramp was that of James J. Rowley, Chief of the Secret Service. Rowley motioned him over to a battery of microphones where Johnson made his first public address as President.[15] The Johnson party then left by helicopter to physically occupy the executive offices of the White House.[16]

The Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy, had sent orders to an arm of the Justice Department, the FBI. Around 5:55 p.m., agents Sibert and O'Neill of the Hyattsville, Md., field office were contacted. They were told to ". . . accompany the body to the National Naval Medical Center, Bethesda, Md., to stay with the body and to obtain bullets reportedly in the President's body."[17]

The casket was lowered from the Presidential plane and placed in a Naval ambulance. At 6:10 p.m. EST, it left Andrews in a motorcade for Bethesda.[18]

FBI agents Sibert and O'Neill contacted Chief Rowley at Andrews and told him of their orders.[19] Rowley had the two ride in the third car of the motorcade with other Kennedy loyalists.[20]

Mrs. Kennedy was in the rear of the ambulance. During the ride to Bethesda, she told the Attorney General, in the presence of an Air Force aide, ". . . the full horror of Dallas."[21]

At 6:55 p.m., 45 minutes later, the motorcade arrived at Bethesda.[22]

Alterations

The President had been shot twice. The first shot entered his throat, grazed the vertebrae just below the base of his neck, and lodged in his body. The second shot entered in the hairline of his left temple and exited from the right, rear side.

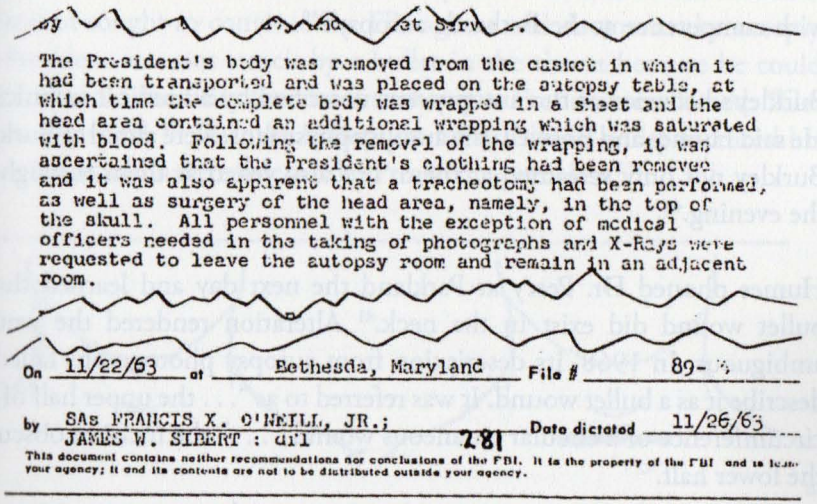
Bullet fragments in the head and lower neck were located and removed. A bullet "found" at Parkland would be used to explain the absence of bullets in the body.

The task before the plotters was to make "entrance" wounds on the back of the body, and to change the actual entrance wounds on the front to those of "exit." A false "entrance" wound was made at the base of the skull and another in the upper back. The actual entrance wound in the throat was to be nonexistent; later it was transformed into an "exit" wound for the back. The actual entrance wound in the left temple was enlarged to become nonexistent—the bullet hole was obliterated. And the actual exit wound on the right, rear side of the head was enlarged to confuse the autopsy doctors at Bethesda.

The body arrived at Bethesda at 6:55 p.m.[23] After 40 minutes, it reached the autopsy room.[24] Signs of alteration were present.

After the alterations had been done, the original wrappings around the body were not replaced. At Parkland, four sheets were wrapped around the head because of the large amount of bleeding.[25] At Bethesda, ". . . the head area contained an additional wrapping . . ."[26] Also obvious was

". . . surgery . . . in the top of the skull," when the FBI saw the head (Fig. 6-1).[27] Consequently, ". . . portions of the skull . . . came apart in our [the Bethesda doctors'] hands very easily . . ."[28] Furthermore, the President's brain was quite easily removed without cranial surgery[29] because the top of the skull had been removed prior to autopsy (Fig. 6-4). There was bruising above the right eye.[30] Yet Kellerman testified the President had no visible injuries on his face at Parkland Hospital: "He was clear."[31] The drawing of the President's face prepared based on the Bethesda doctors' instructions indicates damage to the right eye.[32]



The President's body was removed from the casket in which it had been transported and was placed on the autopsy table, at which time the complete body was wrapped in a sheet and the head area contained an additional wrapping which was saturated with blood. Following the removal of the wrapping, it was ascertained that the President's clothing had been removed and it was also apparent that a tracheotomy had been performed, as well as surgery of the head area, namely, in the top of the skull. All personnel with the exception of medical officers needed in the taking of photographs and X-Rays were requested to leave the autopsy room and remain in an adjacent room.

On 11/22/63 at Bethesda, Maryland File # 89-

by SAs FRANCIS X. O'NEILL, JR.; JAMES W. SIBERT : drl 281 Date dictated 11/26/63

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loan- your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Fig. 6-1

FBI report, by two agents who were assigned to attend the autopsy, notes that surgery was performed on the President's head prior to the beginning of the autopsy.

Fig. 6-1. Two FBI agents noted surgery to the President's head before the autopsy.

Throat

By comparing the wound's appearance at Parkland with its appearance at Bethesda, alteration is obvious. Instead of a cut of a few millimeters across the neck wound as done by Dr. Perry at Parkland Hospital, ". . . a 6.5 cm [2.5 inch] long transverse wound with widely gaping irregular edges"[33] appeared at Bethesda (Fig. 6-2). Cmdr. James J. Humes, one of the three

physicians who performed the autopsy, later testified the length of the cut as seen at Bethesda was ". . . some 7 or 8 cm [2.7-3.1 inches] . . ."[34]

At Parkland, after the tracheotomy, the gunshot wound was still recognizable in the neck.[35] At Bethesda, all that was apparent was a tracheotomy had been made.[36] Humes said what he saw was ". . . no longer at all obvious as a missile wound."[37] Burkley, who was present at the Bethesda autopsy and knew better, said nothing to assist Humes.[38] Apparently because he considered the Parkland doctors ". . . incompetent to discuss the wounds . . . Burkley could not discuss the President's wounds with competence at the Bethesda autopsy."[39]

Burkley's behavior at the autopsy was described by a medical technician. He said Humes and Boswell, the autopsy physicians, were afraid of Burkley. Burkley not only screamed at them, but also yelled at them throughout the evening.[40]

Humes phoned Dr. Perry at Parkland the next day and learned that a bullet wound did exist in the neck.[41] Alteration rendered the wound ambiguous. In 1968, its description from autopsy photographs failed to describe it as a bullet wound. It was referred to as ". . . the upper half of the circumference of a circular cutaneous wound . . . ;" the incision obscured the lower half.[42]

While Lt. Col. Pierre A. Finck, one of the autopsy physicians, was told not to dissect the throat,[43] a microscopic examination was made of tissue taken from the neck wound.[44] According to Cmdr. J. Thornton Boswell, the third autopsy physician, it revealed ". . . foreign substances such as fiber particles."[45] Only a bullet hitting the President in the front of the neck would carry material into the throat.

What of the frothing blood and the possibility of a wound in the chest? Humes found a bruise on the top of the lining of the chest cavity, and one immediately below it in the lining at the top of the right lung.[46] In 1968, it was found that while ". . . X-ray films show no bony damage in the thorax or neck,"[47] at the top of the right lung are ". . . several small metallic fragments . . ."[48]

An early newspaper report claimed, ". . . the first bullet lodged in Kennedy's lung."[49] Dr. John K. Lattimer, a physician who viewed the autopsy pictures in 1972, believed that the bullet could have grazed the vertebrae just below the base of the neck.[50] A complete dissection, which Dr. Finck was denied, would have shown ". . . the precise path of the bullet . . ."[51]

Efforts were made to keep the throat wound nonexistent. On Nov. 22, 1963, some of the national press assumed the President was shot once, in-and-out of the head.

Kellerman sought to convince the FBI agents and doctors at the autopsy the President was not struck by a bullet in the throat because he could speak. He told the FBI after the first shot, the President exclaimed, "Get me to a hospital."[52] But, the bullet that hit his throat and punctured his windpipe would have rendered the President speechless.[53]

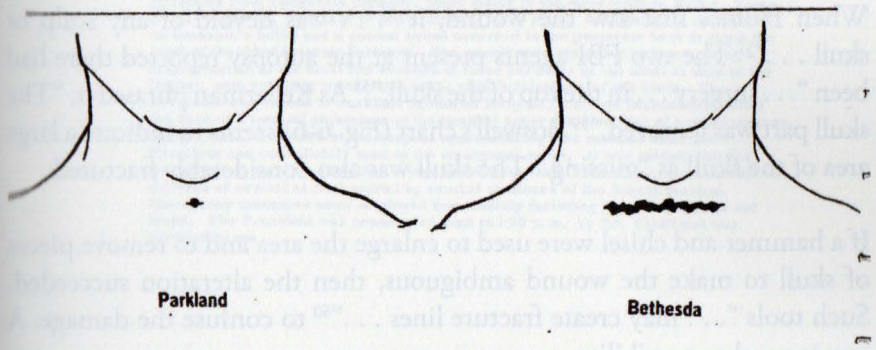


Fig. 6-2. Diagrams of the throat as it appeared at Parkland and at Bethesda.

To support his point, Kellerman told the FBI after the first shot, he looked back and ". . . observed President Kennedy with his left hand in back of him appearing to be reaching to a point on his right shoulder,"[54] reacting to a shot in the back. No witness or film indicates such a reaction.

The day after the assassination, Burkley, on the back of a "Certificate of Death," did not mention the throat wound under Section 20, "Summary of Facts Relating to Death" (Fig. 6-3). But because Humes had contacted

Perry, the throat wound could not be suppressed. On Nov. 23, ABC reported the wound was being officially admitted: It has been announced officially in Washington that President Kennedy was actually shot twice yesterday by the assassin. One of the bullets entered Mr. Kennedy's head, another penetrated through the neck and chest. It was said officially in Washington that they did not know definitely about the second wound until this morning.[55]

The Altered Head Wound

At Parkland, between 4-7 cm (1.5-2.7 inches) of skull and scalp were found torn away by the shooting, in circular shape, mainly in the right, rearward side (Fig. 6-3). At Bethesda, Humes stated, "This wound measured approximately 13 centimeters [5 inches] in greatest diameter."[56] (Fig. 6-4).

When Humes first saw the wound, it ". . . was devoid of any scalp or skull . . ."[57] The two FBI agents present at the autopsy reported there had been ". . . surgery . . . in the top of the skull."[58] As Kellerman phrased it, "The skull part was removed."[59] Boswell's chart (Fig. 6-6) seems to indicate a large area of the skull as "missing." The skull was also considerably fractured.

If a hammer and chisel were used to enlarge the area and to remove pieces of skull to make the wound ambiguous, then the alteration succeeded. Such tools ". . . may create fracture lines . . ."[60] to confuse the damage. A saw is another possibility.

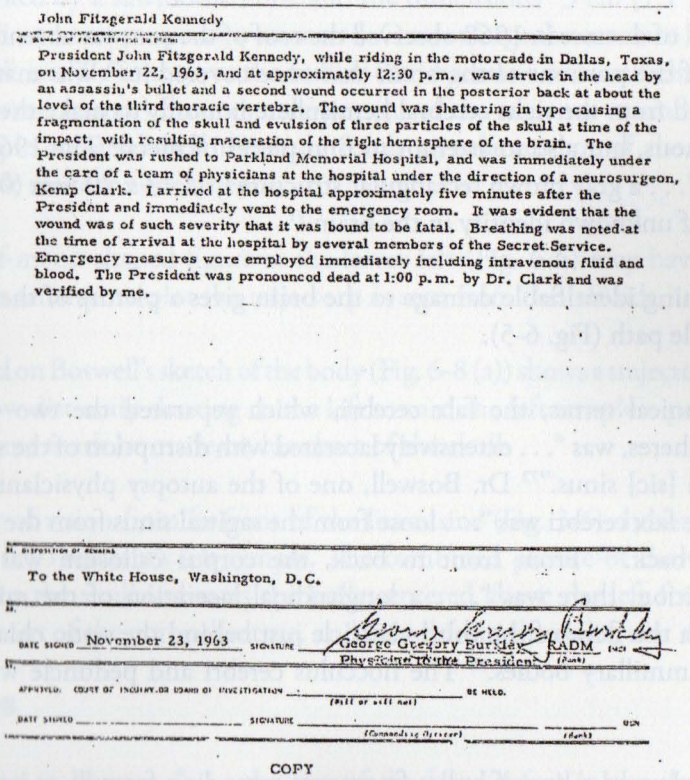
Fracture lines radiated from the top of the wound and from the rear of the skull. These lines varied in both direction and length, the longest being about 19 cm (7.4 inches).[61]

Humes noted in 1963 skull fragments varied ". . . in size from a few millimeters to 10 cm. [3.9 inches] in greatest diameter."[62] Seen in 1968, fragmentation extended from the front to the rear of the skull.[63] Looking down on the skull, fragmentation went 25 mm (1 inch) across the mid-top of the skull to the right and left.[64]

Consequently, portions of the skull around the wound not only were easily removed, but also ". . . came apart in our [the Bethesda doctors'] hands very easily . . ."[65]

At midsection, the male brain measures from 15-17 cm (5.8-6.6 inches) in diameter.[66] The damage to the right cerebral hemisphere of the President's brain ". . . corresponded roughly in size with the greatest diameter of the defect in the scalp measuring some 13 cm. [5 inches]."[67]

Examination of the brain disclosed a tear running from front-to-back in the right hemisphere.[68] Humes testified in 1964, "The margins of this laceration at all points were jagged and irregular, with additional lacerations extending in varying distances from the main laceration."[69]



John Fitzgerald Kennedy

President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, while riding in the motorcade in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963, and at approximately 12:30 p.m., was struck in the head by an assassin's bullet and a second wound occurred in the posterior back at about the level of the third thoracic vertebra. The wound was shattering in type causing a fragmentation of the skull and evulsion of three particles of the skull at time of the impact, with resulting maceration of the right hemisphere of the brain. The President was rushed to Parkland Memorial Hospital, and was immediately under the care of a team of physicians at the hospital under the direction of a neurosurgeon, Kemp Clark. I arrived at the hospital approximately five minutes after the President and immediately went to the emergency room. It was evident that the wound was of such severity that it was bound to be fatal. Breathing was noted at the time of arrival at the hospital by several members of the Secret Service. Emergency measures were employed immediately including intravenous fluid and blood. The President was pronounced dead at 1:00 p.m. by Dr. Clark and was verified by me.

To the White House, Washington, D.C.

DATE SIGNED November 23, 1963 SIGNATURE George Gregory Burkley, RADM, MC USN
Physician to the President

COPY

Fig. 6-3. Back of Burkley's "Certificate of Death" showing section 20, "Summary of Facts Relating to Death" and no mention of the throat wound.

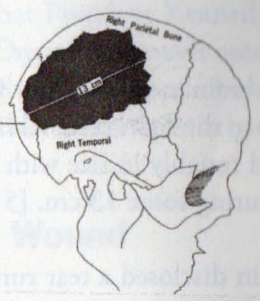


Fig. 6-4. Altered head wound. Compare with Fig. 5-3.

A panel of doctors in 1968 observed the roof of the tear was absent as were most of the portions of the brain that once covered it.[70] Was matter also removed from the right cerebral hemisphere not only to make the wound ambiguous, but also to attempt to find pieces of metal? The 1968 Panel noted ". . . a gray brown rectangular structure . . ." 13 x 20 mm (0.5 x 0.8 inch) of unknown identity in the brain.[71]

Remaining identifiable damage to the brain gives a picture of the bullet's probable path (Fig. 6-5).

In technical terms, the falx cerebri, which separated the two cerebral hemispheres, was ". . . extensively lacerated with disruption of the superior saggital [sic] sinus."[72] Dr. Boswell, one of the autopsy physicians, noted that the falx cerebri was ". . . loose from the sagittal sinus from the coronal suture back."[73] From front to back, the corpus callosum was torn.[74] In addition, there was ". . . a longitudinal laceration of the mid-brain through the floor of the third ventricle just behind the optic chiasm and the mammillary bodies.[75] The flocculus cerebri and peduncle were also torn.[76]

X-rays showed a line of bullet fragments extending from ". . . just above the right eye . . ." to the rear of the skull.[77] The fragments were "dustlike," most less than 1 mm (0.04 inch).[78] Dr. Cyril H. Wecht, a pathologist who

inspected the autopsy materials in 1972, noted, ". . . neutron activation analysis—a test that was not performed—would enable us to match fragments of infinitesimal size with a known object. This could be done with the bullet . . . and the fragments still in the Archives."[79]

Two fragments, one 7 x 2 mm (0.08 x 0.28 inch), the other 3 x 1 mm (0.12 x 0.04 inch), were found above the right eye and somewhat behind the right frontal sinus.[80]

What of the point-of-entry in the skull? As earlier noted, some Parkland doctors saw a wound in the left temple.

At Bethesda, Boswell made a revealing chart (Fig. 6-6) of the top of the skull during autopsy. Note the rectangular configuration on the upper left side marked by a sawtoothed line and the dimensions "3 cm [1.1 inch]." This indicates two purposes were served. One, enlarge the entrance wound in the left temple to recover the bullet. (Enlargement occurred elsewhere for the same reason.) Second, enlargement of the entrance wound in the left temple accomplished the same result as enlargement of the throat wound: It made it nonexistent.

The half-moon shaped figure at the lower left (Fig. 6-6) may have been Boswell's attempt to plot the trajectory as seen from the left side.

The head on Boswell's sketch of the body (Fig. 6-8 (a)) shows a trajectory line and arrow distinctly slanting to the left toward the left temple—pointing to the same mark he made on his chart of the skull.

The line of vision from in front of the limousine (Fig. 3-6) shows a clear view of the President's left temple. The combined picture of the wound pattern to the skull indicates the bullet entered above the left forehead, and in front of the coronal suture, and exited from the right, rear side.

Pieces

According to Humes, ". . . the size of the large defect in the skull was so great and the fragmentation was so complex that it was impossible to accurately pinpoint the exit of the missile in the head wound."[81]

Around 11 p.m.,[82] Humes was presented with three pieces of bone by the Secret Service.[83] This was late into the autopsy because Humes noted it ended at approximately 11 p.m.[84] One of the three pieces, 10x6.5 cm (4 x 2.5 inches) in size ". . . had been removed from the President's skull."[85]

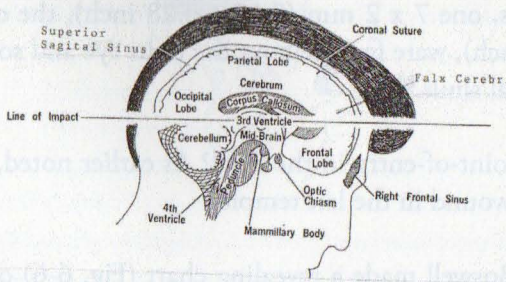


Fig. 6-5. Probable path of bullet.

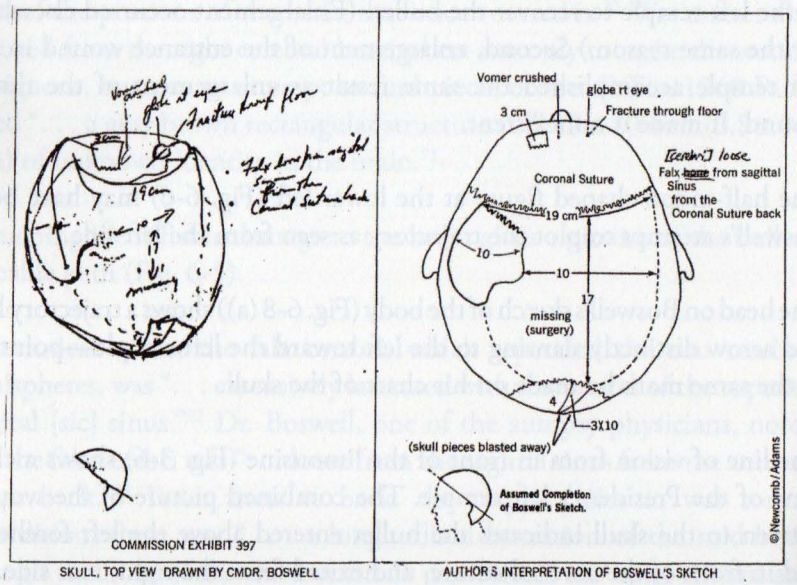


Fig. 6-6. Boswell's sketch and authors' interpretation.

One corner of it showed tiny metal particles and ". . . a chipping of the top portion . . ."[86] At one place on the bone, Humes thought there existed ". . . a roughly circular wound of exit . . . the diameter . . . to be between 2.5

and 3 cm. [0.9-1.1 inch]."[87] Boswell felt because an edge fit the existing skull, it could be placed ". . . at the very crown of the President's head on the midline."[88]

In short, it appears a piece of skull was removed and then chipped to create an "exit" wound. Removing that piece occasioned further fragmentation of the skull.

The source of this piece was Burkley and the Secret Service. Agent Kinney of the Secret Service allegedly noticed the bone in the limousine at the White House garage a little after 9 p.m.[89] Kinney had not seen it earlier when he put the top on the limousine. Kinney told agent Boring about the piece ". . . on the floor of the rear of the car near the 'jump' seat."[90] Paul Paterni, Deputy Chief of the Secret Service, and Boring, went to Burkley. Then, two members of Burkley's office accompanied them back to the garage. Around 10 p.m., ". . . a three-inch triangular section of skull . . ." was found.[91] The FBI did not examine the limousine until around 2 a.m., the next day, Nov. 23.[92]

After pieces of skull were removed from the wound in a clandestine operation out of sight of the autopsy doctors, they were secured and altered. As the FBI noted at the autopsy, when the body was unwrapped, there had been "surgery . . . in the top of the skull."[93]

But even with the three fragments of bone, about one quarter of the skull wound was still missing.[94] Some other pieces were located.

On Nov. 23, 1963, the day after the assassination, a student found a piece of bone ". . . approximately 25 feet south of the site where President Kennedy was assassinated."[95] He took it to his uncle who gave it to the Chief Pathologist at the Methodist Hospital in Dallas.[96]

The Pathologist told the FBI, ". . . the bone specimen looked like it came from the occipital region of the skull."[97] This piece from the back of the head was further evidence of a rear exit wound resulting from a shot from the front.

Although the size of that piece was not mentioned in FBI reports, the FBI laboratory examined it on Nov. 26. They reported it contained no bullet particles.[98] The next day, this piece was brought to Burkley.[99] There the trail ends. It was offered neither to the autopsy physicians nor to the Commission. The FBI report was classified.[100]

Humes' supplemental report on the autopsy, presented Dec. 6, 1963, did not mention this piece of bone.[101] Burkley not only withheld the piece from examination by Humes, but apparently also retained it; no record of its disposal exists.

A deputy sheriff found a "firecracker"-size fragment on the pavement, 8-12 inches from the south curb of Elm St.[102] He turned it over to the Secret Service.[103] The precise location and characteristics of the bone were never determined.

A postal inspector picked up a piece of skull from the Elm Street pavement. He said it was as ". . . big as the end of my finger . . ."[104] Furthermore, it was one of many: ". . . there was just pieces of skull and bone and corruption all over the place . . ."[105] He later discarded it.[106]

Rear Head Wound

A 15 x 6 mm (0.5 x 0.2 inch) wound existed at the base of the President's head on the right.[107] It was first located about 2.5 cm (0.9 inch) ". . . to the right and slightly above the external occipital protuberance."[108] (Fig. 6-7) Parkland doctors were questioned as to whether they had seen this small hole; none had.[109] Parkland nurses who prepared the body had not seen it.[110]

A panel of doctors in 1968 who viewed the autopsy photographs placed it 10 cm (3.9 inches) above the external occipital protuberance.[111] Furthermore, they found this wound on the scalp corresponded to a hole in the skull where, close to the depressed lower edge, a large round metallic fragment was conveniently embedded,[112] the same bullet size as the scenario rifle.

Why were Humes, the 1968 Panel, and those who saw the autopsy pictures in 1972 unable to agree on a simple measurement of where the hole was on the back of the skull? They disagree by four inches. Humes claimed the high measurement was because of the lifting of the scalp to photograph the wound.[113] Dr. Cyril Wecht, a pathologist who saw the pictures in 1972, observed, ". . . the scalp is rather tight to the underlying bone in that area . . ."[114] Furthermore, he stated, ". . . there just isn't that kind of open space [four inches] between the scalp and the base . . ."[115]

Did they all see the same pictures? Was the wound at the base of the skull tampered with and a 6.5 mm bullet fragment placed there to conform with the scenario? Did they all see the same body?

This wound appears to have been manufactured to provide an "entrance" wound at the back of the skull for the enlarged exit wound at the side of the skull. As made, it was inconsistent with a rifle shot, fired high above and from behind the President. It was too low, given the forward inclination of the President's head when he was fatally shot.

An explanation assumes the following. By the time the error was discovered, the body was interred. Therefore, the photographs of the original false wound were replaced. Another body was prepared with the revised false wound and photographed. Because the photographs did not show the face or other prominent points of identification, such a substitution of both bodyand pictures could be made.

Such photographs could be used as persuasion to convince some of the validity of the wound. For example, according to a Commission lawyer, "I saw one picture taken at the autopsy, which was not technically authenticated."[116] He carefully stated, "it showed the back of a body with a bullet hole . . ."[117]

Back Wound

The throat wound was to have been nonexistent because it would have indicated a shot fired in front of the President. As noted, Burkley's "Certificate of Death" (Fig. 6-3) on the President failed to mention the throat wound. Therefore, an attempt was made to obliterate the throat

wound's character as a bullet wound by enlarging and distorting the small racheotomy cut to a large ". . . wound with wide gaping irregular edges." Second, to make it look like a shot had hit the President from behind, a false entrance wound was made in his back.

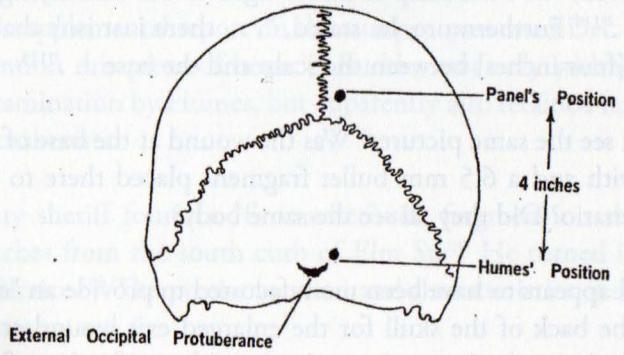


Fig. 6-7. Diagram of the back of the skull with location of the external occipital protuberance and sites of both rear head "wounds."

But the throat wound could not be suppressed. Parkland doctors had talked about it at a press conference on the day of the assassination. The day after, Humes had phoned Perry at Parkland and learned of the bullet wound in the throat. As a result, the back wound was moved up to make the entrance wound in the throat appear as an "exit" wound.

According to the two FBI agents present at the autopsy, Humes found ". . . an opening which appeared to be a bullet hole which was below the shoulders and two inches to the right of the middle line of the spinal column."[118] The back wound, according to Burkley, was ". . . at about the level of the third thoracic vertebra [Fig. 6-3; see also Fig. 6-8 (C)]." Humes' assistant, Boswell, marked the hole on a body chart in a position consistent with the descriptions of the FBI and Burkley (Fig. 6-8 (A)). At this position the hole had been punched in both the President's jacket and shirt (see Fig. 6-8 (B)).

In contrast, Dr. James Weston, who studied the autopsy pictures in 1975, placed the hole ". . . at about the level of the sixth or seventh cervical bridge [area C6, C7 of Fig. 6-8 (C)]."[119]

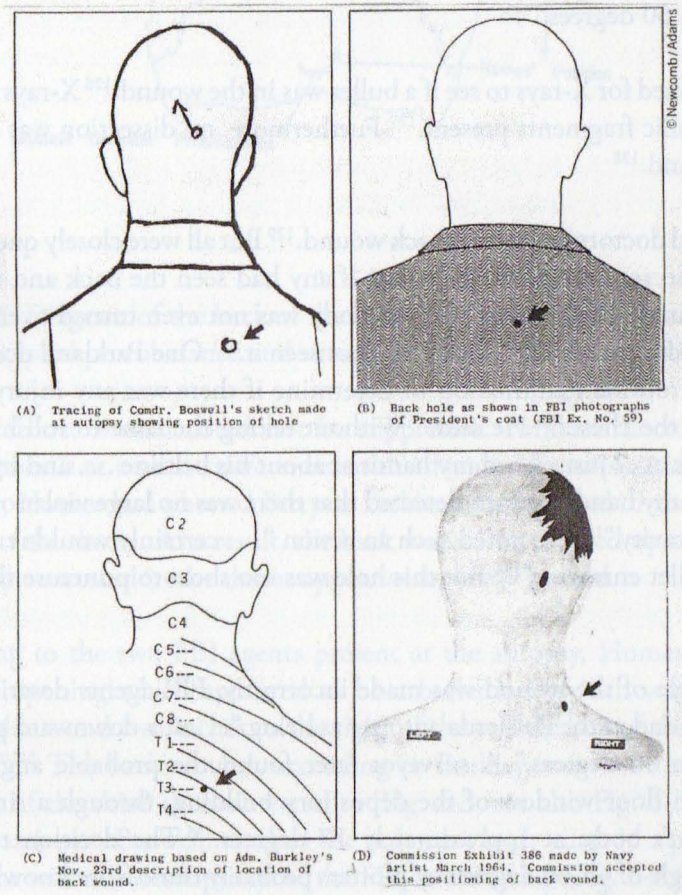
During the autopsy, Humes probed the wound with his finger and found it very shallow: ". . . the end of the opening could be felt with the finger."[120] Finck, who found the wound, could locate no exit.[121] Agent Kellerman testified Finck used an instrument to probe and discovered ". . . no lanes for an outlet of this entry . . ."[122] Finck noted the ". . . edges were pushed inward."[123] FBI agents present at the autopsy described the penetration as being ". . . less than a finger length,"[124] and ". . . at a downward position of 45 to 60 degrees."[125]

Finck asked for X-rays to see if a bullet was in the wound.[126] X-rays showed no metallic fragments present.[127] Furthermore, no dissection was done of the wound.[128]

Parkland doctors had felt no back wound.[129] But all were closely questioned by the Secret Service to determine if any had seen the back and the lack of a wound. The doctors said the body was not even turned over.[130] The nurses who prepared the body had not seen it.[131] One Parkland doctor did make a routine examination to determine if there was any injury to the back of the chest.[132] He said, "Without taking the time to roll him over and look . . . I just placed my hands at about his beltline . . . and by slowly moving my hands upward detected that there was no large violation of the pleural cavity."[133] He noted such an action ". . . certainly wouldn't detect a small bullet entrance."[134] But this hole was too short to puncture the chest cavity.

The angle of the wound was made incorrectly. FBI agents described the back wound at the Bethesda autopsy as being ". . . at a downward position of 45 to 60 degrees." A surveyor later found the probable angle from the sixth floor window of the depository building, through a simulated President's body, at approximately 17 degrees.[135] The decision to use a steep angle of 45-60 degrees by plotters probably came from knowledge of a comment by Robert H. Jackson of the Dallas Times Herald. He stated, in a much-used quote, "We were just turning the corner and a gunman would have about a 45-degree angle from the buildings to the car."[136]

During the autopsy, Kellerman tried to convince Kennedy loyalist Clinton Hill of the validity of the back wound. It was Hill whom Robert Kennedy called at Parkland about the President's condition—not Kellerman or Burkley.[137] Kellerman testified, ". . . it was my decision to get Mr. Hill down and view this man [the President] for all the damage that was done; so I went up to the floor where they [Hill and the Kennedys] were at and brought him down and he inspected the incisions [sic]."[138] When a Commission lawyer asked him why, Kellerman answered, "more witnesses . . . I think more to view the unfortunate happenings it would be a little better."[139]



(A) Tracing of Comdr. Boswell's sketch made at autopsy showing position of hole

(B) Back hole as shown in FBI photographs of President's coat (FBI Ex. No. 59)

(C) Medical drawing based on Adm. Burkley's Nov. 23rd description of location of back wound.

(D) Commission Exhibit 386 made by Navy artist March 1964. Commission accepted this positioning of back wound.

Fig. 6-8. Diagrams of the back "wound"

Kellerman's explanation makes no sense. According to the FBI report on the autopsy, 30 people were present at varying times, including two admirals, one major general, and a brigadier general.[140]

Kellerman may have hinted at the real nature of the wounds when he referred to them as "incisions."[141] Hill, apparently unconvinced when asked about the wounds, referred specifically to the back wound as ". . . an opening . . ."[142]

The Puzzled Pathologists

The three autopsy physicians—Humes, Boswell, and Finck—were puzzled at finding several wounds in the body but no bullets.[143] Kellerman supplied an answer. ". . . our contention was," he testified later, "that while he[the President] was on the stretcher in Dallas, and the neurosurgeon was working over him, no doubt with pressure on the heart, this thing [the bullet] worked itself out."[144] When asked who he meant by "our contention," Kellerman spread the credit to include the FBI by suggesting it was one of the FBI agents present at the autopsy.[145] An undamaged 6.5 mm bullet was conveniently found on an empty stretcher at Parkland Hospital. It was likely this was the bullet Kellerman contended "worked itself out" of the body and could be matched to the scapegoat's 6.5 mm rifle found in the depository, not to a Secret Service agent's revolver.

As the altered body appeared, an "entrance" wound was on the back, and another at the rear of the head. The back wound lacked a point of exit. In trying to find some answers, Humes phoned Perry at Parkland on Nov. 23, 1963.[146] At that time, Humes learned of the small bullet wound in the neck, contrasting sharply with the grotesque distortion of Perry's tracheotomy that Humes found. Humes' notes reflect Perry's negative response: "no missile in the wound."[147]

Humes was unconvinced of the authenticity of the back wound for he also asked Perry about it. Perry noted, ". . . he asked me at that time if we had made any wounds in the back [emphasis added]."[148]

Humes then had four wounds to explain: one at the throat, one at the back, and two in the skull. And an acceptable autopsy report had

to be written. The number of revisions is unknown. However, Burkley "accepted and approved" Humes' destruction of ". . . certain preliminary draft notes . . ." (Fig. 6-12). When Humes finished his final version is also unknown because it is undated.[149]

The autopsy had to be rethought. On the afternoon of March 11, 1964, two Commission lawyers met with two of the three autopsy physicians in the office of Bethesda's commanding officer.

The commanding officer of Humes and Boswell, Read Adm. Calvin B. Galloway, used one of the lawyers to illustrate a version of the shooting. According to the lawyer, ". . . by placing one finger on my back and the second finger on the front part of my chest which indicated that the bullet traveled in a consistent downward path, to the assumption that it emerged in the opening on the President's throat which had been enlarged by the performance of the tracheotomy in Dallas." This version, which provided a previously nonexistent path for the back wound, reflected the ". . . current opinion . . ." of both Humes and Boswell.[150]

Four days later, when Humes testified before the Commission, he presented his final version of the autopsy report,[151] which supported Galloway's assertion (Fig. 6-9).[152]

The theory of a bullet entering from the back of the neck and exiting from the front of the neck not only required a path, but also that the back wound be moved up some four inches. Originally, it was too low and at too steep an angle to allow a connection with the front of the throat.

Burkley supported the new version.[153] Humes described the new location as 14 cm (5.5 inches) from the tip of the right shoulder joint and 14 cm (5.5 inches) below the tip of the nipple of the bone behind the right ear.[154] The autopsy pictures in 1968 also reflect those dimensions.[155]

As in the case of the rear skull wound, the possibility exists another body was prepared with the revised back wound and photographed so as not to show the face or any identifying marks. Dr. Weston, during his 1975 examination of the autopsy pictures, noted: "I couldn't locate it [the back wound] with respect to the spine because the only picture that they had

that showed it clearly to be close to the root of the neck, or the pictures that they had that had a ruler in it, covered up the spine."[156] As previously noted, this could have been the ". . . back of a body with a bullet hole . . ." shown to a Commission lawyer by a Secret Service inspector.

Clothing

According to a military autopsy manual, "It should be a standing rule that . . . the clothing . . . [not] be disturbed until examined by the pathologist."[157] Humes saw the President's clothing for the first time on March 16, 1964, several months after the autopsy.[158]

The limousine driver, Greer, claimed he ". . . took custody of them [the clothing] at Parkland Hospital."[159] He said, "The nurse put all his belongings into a shopping bag and . . . I carried them all back to Washington with me."[160] He stated the clothing remained in his custody from Dallas to Washington, D.C., until he ". . . turned them over to the Secret Service Security Office, I mean Protective Research . . . Mr. Bouck."[161]

Greer remained with the body from Dealey Plaza until it was placed in the East Wing of the White House early Saturday morning.[162] He was in the autopsy room all the time Bethesda doctors examined the body.[163] Throughout this period, he withheld the clothing. In addition, Burkley, who was with Greer at Parkland, also failed to tell Humes about the clothing.

An FBI agent, after obtaining the clothing from either Greer or Burkley, delivered it to the FBI lab on Nov. 23, 1963.[164]

According to an interview with Dr. Perry of Parkland Hospital, the President's clothing included a ". . . T-shirt . . ."[165] A New York Times report mentioned an ". . . undershirt . . ."[166] Greer claimed, ". . . there was no undershirt."[167]

Before the FBI received the clothing, a hole was created in both the President's shirt and jacket. The holes, however, were punched incorrectly for the final location of the back wound. They were 2.5-3 inches below the revised back wound. In Fig. 6-8, note the position of the wound in

the back (D) and compare it with that of the hole in the clothing (B). Photographs made at the time of the shots do not show the clothing bunched up.

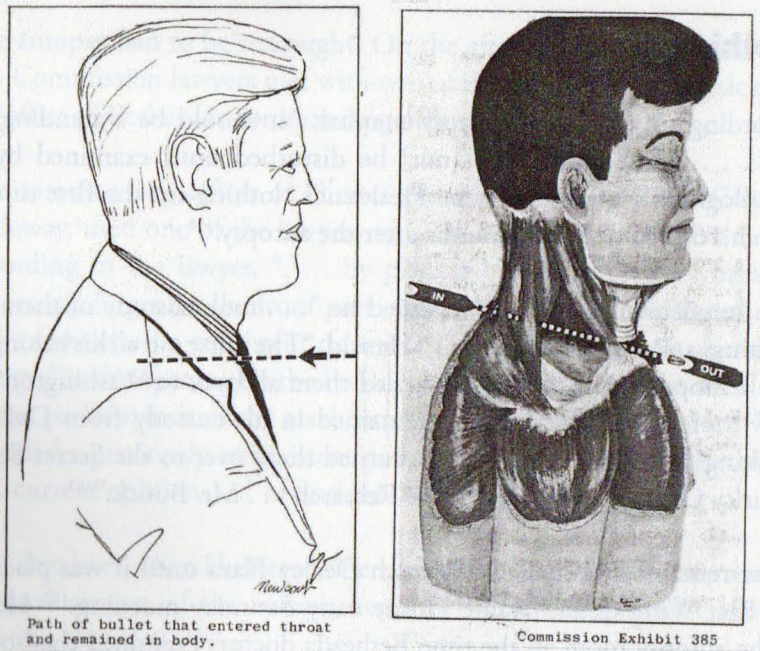


Fig. 6-9. Diagram of the original throat wound and the Commission's version.

An agent with the FBI laboratory described the holes on the back of the President's jacket and shirt. The jacket hole was 5-3/8 inches, and the shirt hole 5-3/4 inches, below the top of the collar.[168] Panel doctors who examined the clothing in 1968 placed the hole "about 12 cm [4.6 inches] below the upper edge of the coat collar."[169] They said the hole in the shirt was ". . . 14 cm [5.4 inches] below the upper edge of the collar.[170]

Given the location of the revised wound in the back—5.5 inches below the tip of the nipple of the bone behind the right ear—the holes in the clothing are 2.5-3 inches below the revised wound.[171]

The FBI described the hole at the front of the shirt as ". . . a ragged slit approximately one-half inch in height."[172] The President's tie had a ". . . nick in the left side . . ."[173] The FBI found "traces of copper . . . around the margins of the hole in the back of the coat . . . ;"[174] the rear-shirt hole also had metallic residue.[175] This implies a metal instrument was used to punch the hole. But the FBI found ". . . no metallic residue . . . on the tie, and . . . on the shirt at the holes in front."[176] The implication is those areas were cleaned and distorted by tearing. The FBI ". . . could not actually determine from the characteristics of the hole [in the front of the shirt] whether or not it was caused by a bullet."[177]

The cleaning was crucial to cover up evidence of the frontal wound. When a bullet penetrates clothing before it enters the body, it will leave a metallic residue and lubricating grease in the clothing.[178]

Autopsy Films

A large question exists about both the completeness and the authenticity of the autopsy pictures in the National Archives. A Secret Service agent took the camera of an enlisted photographer who made pictures of the autopsy room scene and exposed the film,[179] thereby destroying evidence.

There were at least two X-ray sessions: one before and one during the autopsy.

The body arrived at Bethesda at 6:55 p.m.[180] After 40 minutes it reached the autopsy room at 7:35 p.m.[181]

Before the autopsy began, the room was cleared except for ". . . medical officers needed in the taking of photographs and X-rays, [182] in which Humes participated.[183] According to Humes, before the examination began, X-rays of the head and body were taken along with ". . . identification type photographs . . . of the full face of the late President."[184]

FBI agents were requested to wait in an adjoining room during the first X-ray/photo session. They had to rely upon others for the count of the number of pictures taken. At 8:15 p.m., the official autopsy began;[185] the body had been out of the FBI's view for at least 40 minutes.

During the first 40 minutes the body was at Bethesda, X-rays could have been made to locate the Secret Service bullets and necessary surgery undertaken to remove them and to alter wounds.

How much film was exposed on the same body? Humes failed to see an object in the brain that the 1968 Panel viewed. Further, Humes' original location of the wound at the base of the skull differed from that shown later in films seen by him, the 1968 Panel, and the two other doctors in 1972.

At least five inventories of the autopsy pictures have been made: by the FBI in 1963; by Burkley in 1965; by the Kennedys, and then by the Naval Medical Staff in 1966; and by the 1968 Panel.[186]No Parkland doctors saw the pictures until 1988.

The amount of film varies. According to the FBI agents at the autopsy, ". . . a complete listing . . ." amounted to 56 negatives,[187] plus 13 made of the brain in December 1963 after the autopsy,[188] for a total of 69.

The Kennedys' inventory of only ". . . certain X-rays and photographs connected with the autopsy . . ." on Oct 29, 1966, came to 72. Of this, missing were five exposures of 120 film, and one color negative of the brain; added were three X-rays, five exposures of 4" x 5" film, and one roll of color film.[189]

Then, on Nov. 1, 1966, the Naval Medical Staff also found 72 negatives and transparencies,[190] including two more brain pictures than the Kennedy inventory. In addition, the Staff noted a roll of 120 color film ". . . was seized by Secret Service agents from a Navy medical corpsman . . . during the autopsy and immediately exposed to light."[191] (see Fig. 6-10) The Staff stated the Kennedys were in error when they claimed that five 4" x 5" black-and-white negatives were exposed.[192]

The 1968 panel's inventory of 66 negatives[193] failed to include the five black-and-white negatives, 4" x 5" Ektachrome film and one transparency, and the roll of 120 color film.

Descriptive Discrepancies

Description of the film also varies. In 1966, the Naval Medical Staff found No. 2, an 8 x10-inch x-ray, to be of the right side of the skull.[194] When No. 2 was viewed in 1968, the Panel said it was of the left side of the skull.[195]

The quality of the film is crucial in certain areas. Photographs 1, 2, 44, and 45 show the cranial cavity, without the brain, from the front and above, [196] which would show bullet damage to the skull. The Panel noted the ". . . lack of contrast of the structures portrayed and lack of clarity of detail in these photographs . . ."[197]

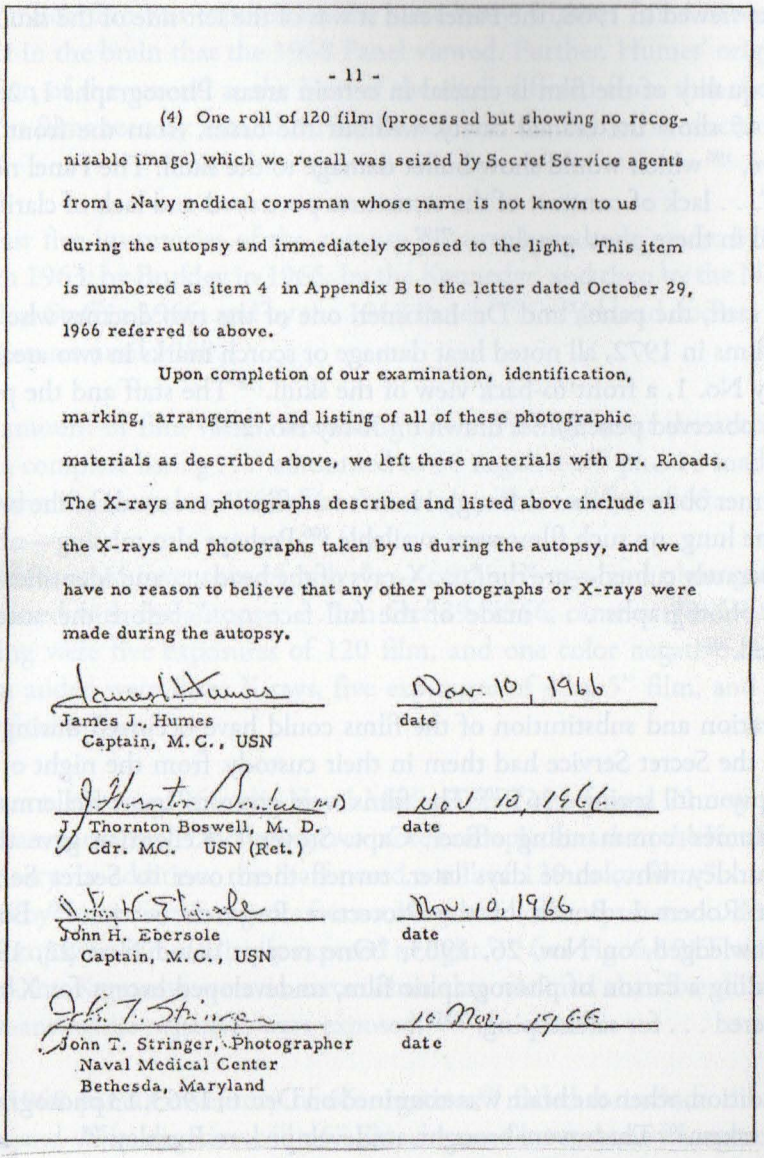
The staff, the panel, and Dr. Lattimer, one of the two doctors who saw the films in 1972, all noted heat damage or scorch marks in two areas on X-ray No. 1, a front-to-back view of the skull.[198] The staff and the panel both observed pencil lines drawn on X-ray No. 2.[199]

Lattimer observed that although Humes said films were made of the bruise on the lung, no such films were available.[200] Perhaps also missing—unless deliberately ruined—are the ". . . X-rays of the head . . . and identification type photographs . . . made of the full face . . ." before the autopsy started.[201]

Alteration and substitution of the films could have occurred during the time the Secret Service had them in their custody, from the night of the autopsy until spring 1965.[202] The films were given to agent Kellerman[203] by Humes' commanding officer, Capt. Stover.[204] Kellerman gave them to Burkley, who, three days later, turned them over to Secret Service agent Robert I. Bouck of the Protective Research Section.[205] Bouck acknowledged, on Nov. 26, 1963, "One receipt dated Nov. 22, 1963, regarding a carton of photographic film, undeveloped except for X-rays, delivered . . . for safekeeping."[206]

In addition, when the brain was examined on Dec. 6, 1963, 13 photographs were taken.[207] These were brought, undeveloped, to Burkley.[208]

The military autopsy manual advises ". . . photographs made by the pathologist should be attached to the final autopsy report."[209] They were not. The X-rays were developed at Bethesda, but not the photographs.[210]



- 11 -

(4) One roll of 120 film (processed but showing no recognizable image) which we recall was seized by Secret Service agents from a Navy medical corpsman whose name is not known to us during the autopsy and immediately exposed to the light. This item is numbered as item 4 in Appendix B to the letter dated October 29, 1966 referred to above.

Upon completion of our examination, identification, marking, arrangement and listing of all of these photographic materials as described above, we left these materials with Dr. Rhoads. The X-rays and photographs described and listed above include all the X-rays and photographs taken by us during the autopsy, and we have no reason to believe that any other photographs or X-rays were made during the autopsy.

James J. Humes — Nov. 10, 1966
James J., Humes, Captain, M.C., USN — date

J. Thornton Boswell — Nov 10, 1966
J. Thornton Boswell, M. D., Cdr. MC. USN (Ret.) — date

John H. Ebersole — Nov. 10, 1966
John H. Ebersole, Captain, M.C., USN — date

John T. Stringer — 10 Nov 1966
John T. Stringer, Photographer, Naval Medical Center, Bethesda, Maryland — date

Fig. 6-10. Page from Naval Medical Staff inventory showing Secret Service destruction of autopsy film.

The autopsy pictures—basic source materials for this investigation—were not seen by the Warren Commission, with one exception. Inspector Kelley of the Secret Service privately showed one of the commission's assistant counsel one autopsy photograph of the "back of a body with a hole in it".[211]

Commission lawyers told Humes and Boswell to have drawings prepared to depict the wounds.[212] A few days before they testified, the "schematic drawings" were made based solely on the Bethesda doctors' verbal descriptions.[213]

Other Medical Documents

On Nov. 23 and 24, 1963, the Bethesda doctors wrote their autopsy report.[214] The evening of the 24th, Humes delivered it to Burkley.[215] Burkley, according to his note and signature, "verified" Boswell's chart, "accepted and approved" Humes burning his preliminary draft notes on Nov. 24, 1963, and initialed "GGB" on the revised, handwritten report (Figs. 6-1 1, 6-12, 6-1 3).

Capt. Stover, Humes' commanding officer, was the go-between. Humes gave him his notes and final handwritten report at 5 p.m., on Nov. 24, 1963.[216] This was also "accepted and approved" by Burkley (Fig. 6-14). Then Humes delivered it to Burkley at 6:30 p.m., the same day.[217] A typed version was sent to the White House and to Burkley on Nov. 25, 1963.[218] From the White House, it went to the Secret Service.[219]

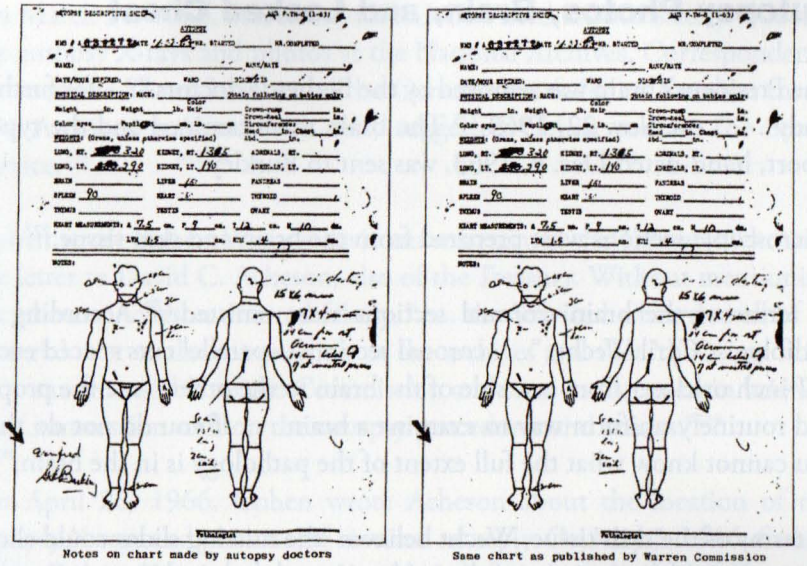
Boswell's chart, Humes' certificates turning his material over to Stover and burning his notes, and Humes' final handwritten report are reproduced in the volumes of the Warren Commission without Burkley's signature, initials, and notations.[220] With Burkley's authorization missing, Humes is made to bear the entire responsibility. It is not known who removed Burkley's authorizations from these documents.

The record shows the autopsy doctors submitted all their reports and charts to the White House and Adm. Burkley, who authorized changes and approved revisions of these documents. In effect, the autopsy doctors were being overruled by an officer outside of their chain-of-command.

It is unclear whether Burkley's superior, Lyndon Johnson, had anything to do with these corrections. Was Johnson, through his physician Burkley, closely supervising the acceptability of certain notes? Why was the beneficiary of the murder allowed to supervise the autopsy of the victim? These questions were not raised by the Commission. Oddly, Humes was not asked by the Commission why he burned his notes.

The Commission received the autopsy report as an enclosure from the Secret Service on Dec. 20, 1963.[221] The FBI first obtained a copy of the autopsy report on Dec. 23, 1963, and then only after making a "specific request" to the Secret Service.[222] Until that time, the FBI was compelled to work without the Bethesda findings, relying entirely upon the reports of their two agents who attended the autopsy.

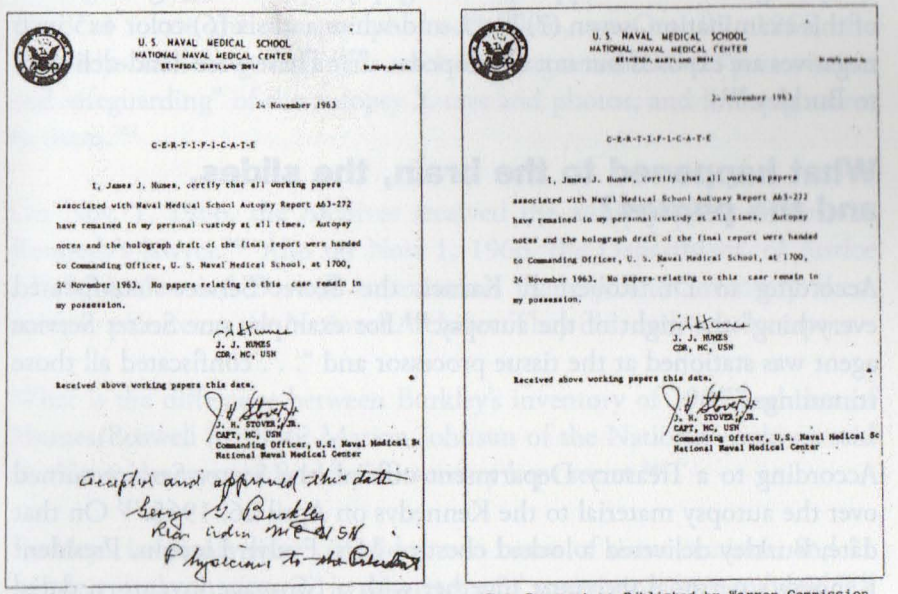
When a reporter later asked Humes why he burned his notes, Humes told him: "Use your own judgment. Would I have burned anything that I thought important?"[223] Also strangely missing, both from the printed record (Commission Exhibit No. 397) and file folder 371 in the National Archives, are the working notes Humes made during the autopsy that he later used to prepare his report. These notes were not destroyed, but were sent from Bethesda, with the last copy of the autopsy report, to Burkley, three days after the assassination. The Secret Service then took custody of the papers.[224]



Notes on chart made by autopsy doctors

Same chart as published by Warren Commission

Fig. 6-1 1. Boswell's body chart.



U. S. NAVAL MEDICAL SCHOOL
NATIONAL NAVAL MEDICAL CENTER
BETHESDA, MARYLAND 20014

24 November 1963

C-E-R-T-I-F-I-C-A-T-E

I, James J. Humes, certify that all working papers associated with Naval Medical School Autopsy Report A63-272 have remained in my personal custody at all times. Autopsy notes and the holograph draft of the final report were handed to Commanding Officer, U. S. Naval Medical School, at 1700, 24 November 1963. No papers relating to this case remain in my possession.

J. J. HUMES
CDR, MC, USN

Received above working papers this date.

J. H. STOVER, JR.
CAPT, MC, USN
Commanding Officer, U.S. Naval Medical Sc
National Naval Medical Center

Accepted and approved this date
George G. Burkley
Rear Admiral MC USN
Physician to the President

Original Document

Same Document as Published by Warren Commission

Fig. 6-14. Humes' certificate to Stover.

Autopsy Photos, Brain, and Locked Chest

The President's brain was removed by the Bethesda doctors ". . . for further study . . ." on Nov. 22, 1963.[225] The brain was examined and the typed report, hand-dated Dec. 6, 1963, was sent to Burkley.[226]

Microscopic sections were prepared from the brain and skin tissue.[227]

In terms of the brain, coronal sections were omitted.[228] According to pathologist Cyril Wecht, ". . . coronal sections—parallel cuts spaced every 1/2-inch or closer from one side of the brain to the other—are the proper and routinely uniform way to examine a brain . . . If you do not do this, you cannot know what the full extent of the pathology is in the brain."[229]

In terms of the skin tissue, Wecht believes "the missing slides could show microscopic characteristics of the epidermis and dermis that one sees with wounds of entrance and that are not found in wounds of exit."[230]

According to Humes' supplemental autopsy report, "during the course of this examination, seven (7) black-and-white and six (6) color 4x5 inch negatives are exposed but not developed . . ."[231] These were hand-delivered to Burkley.[232]

What happened to the brain, the slides, and the photos?

According to Dr. Robert F. Karnei, the Secret Service "confiscated everything" the night of the autopsy.[233] For example, one Secret Service agent was stationed at the tissue processor and ". . . confiscated all those trimmings."[234]

According to a Treasury Department official, the Secret Service turned over the autopsy material to the Kennedys on April 26, 1965.[235] On that date, Burkley delivered a locked chest to Mrs. Evelyn Lincoln, President Kennedy's personal secretary, together with a two-page inventory, dated April 26, 1965. Marion Johnson of the National Archives believed the brain was listed.[236] A few days later, Robert Kennedy's secretary took the chest from Mrs. Lincoln.[237]

On March 31, 1966, Professor Jacob Cohen tried unsuccessfully to locate the autopsy X-rays and photos at the National Archives. Correspondence between the Secret Service and the Commission failed to mention them. The Archives, irritated with this, suggested Cohen contact the Secret Service.[238]

Cohen wrote Robert Wallace, assistant secretary of the Treasury, who sent the letter to David C. Acheson, also of the Treasury. Without mentioning the photos, Acheson asserted falsely, ". . . the Service had turned all of its material over to the commission or the archives and that 'the X-ray films were made available to the Commission and were in fact used in briefing the Commission staff on the autopsy procedures and results."[239]

On April 26, 1966, Cohen wrote Acheson about the location of the autopsy X-rays and photos. He received no reply. On May 5, 1966, Cohen wrote Robert Kennedy concerning their location, and asked if Kennedy withheld these from the Commission. Again, he received no reply.[240]

In August 1966, Newsweek magazine reported its two-month inquiry failed to locate the autopsy photos.[241] Then, on Oct. 29, 1966, the Kennedys and the government reached an agreement over "preservation and safeguarding" of the autopsy X-rays and photos, and limiting access to them.[242]

On Nov. 1, 1966, the Archives received the autopsy photos from the Kennedy's lawyer.[243] Also on Nov. 1, 1966, the Department. of Justice asked Humes and Boswell to examine, identify, and inventory these autopsy pictures at the National Archives. They did, and wrote a report.

What is the difference between Burkley's inventory of 1965 and that of Humes/Boswell in 1966? Marion Johnson of the National Archives said the Kennedys wanted Burkley's inventory kept secret.[244]

Burkley's inventory lists 177 slides, two boxes of tissue sections, and "1 stainless steel container 7" in diameter x 8" containing gross material."[245] These items are missing from previous and subsequent inventories. Their current location is unknown.

The Humes/Boswell inventory, which showed destruction of autopsy films by the Secret Service, was primarily withheld because it was claimed its disclosure would have invaded the privacy of the Kennedys.[246]

On Jan. 20, 1967, the Bethesda physicians—Humes, Boswell, and Finck—met at the National Archives to examine the autopsy X-rays and photos. This was the second time in three months Humes and Boswell were at the Archives.[247] A few days later, on Jan. 26, 1967, Boswell wrote Attorney General Ramsey Clark and asked, because of the controversy, an expert panel examine the autopsy materials.[248]

On Feb. 26, and 27, 1968, such a panel of doctors reviewed the materials and wrote a report, which included an inventory of items made available to them.[249] The materials were examined four years later by two other physicians. On Jan 7, 1972, Dr. John K. Lattimer viewed the autopsy materials at the Archives.[250] On Aug. 23, and 24, 1972, Dr. Cyril H. Wecht also examined them.[251] Absent in these examinations were the brain, the microscopic slides of brain and skin tissue, and interior photos of the head and body.

In sum, certain photos taken at the autopsy were removed and/or destroyed before they were deposited in the National Archives. The location of the brain, which was only partially examined, is unknown.[252] So is the locked chest.

LBJ and the Autopsy

As late as Nov. 26, 1963, "The White House . . . declined to say whether an autopsy was performed on the body of John F. Kennedy."[253]

On Nov. 4, 1966, Johnson told a press conference, ". . . most of this [autopsy films] has been over in the Archives stored all the time.[254] He added, "It has always been available to the Warren Commission and the Government, the Justice Department, the FBI."[255] Archivists John F. Simmons and Marion Johnson, in March 1966, denied the Archives had the films.[256]

In early 1968, a forthcoming, sensational trial in New Orleans held the possibility the autopsy films might be obtained and used. On Jan. 26, 1968, Boswell requested the Attorney General to have a panel of doctors review the films.[257] The Bethesda doctors might have feared a trial could cast doubt upon their work.[258] Perhaps Lyndon Johnson was also troubled about this.

Although his resignation statement was prepared by Jan. 17, 1968, he failed to give it when he made the State of the Union Addresss.[259]

Chapter Six Endnotes:

1. Bishop, op. cit., p. 356. George G. Burkley, op. cit., v. 22, p. 96. Manchester, op. cit., pp. 397-398 (PB).
2. Ibid.
3. Manchester, op. cit., p. 454 (PB).
4. Ibid., p. 435 (PB).
5. Ibid.
   Canada claimed he sent the ambulance in case Johnson had another heart attack. He said he ". . . learned from his office television set that it [the flight] would carry President Kennedy." (Ibid.) News broadcasts deny this. Was Canada covering for someone? Kellerman stated, "While airborne, arrangements were made for a Naval ambulance from the New Naval Medical Center at Bethesda to be available at the airport." (Kellerman, op. cit., v. 18, p. 726.)
6. Robert Abernathy, NBC, Nov. 22, 1963, 3:31 p.m. CST.
7. Manchester, op. cit., p. 508 (PB).
8. Ibid., pp. 496, 508-509 (PB).
9. Edward Epstein, "Manchester Unexpurgated," Commentary, July 1967, p. 28.
10. Burkley remained Johnson's personal physician from 12:30 p.m., Nov. 22, 1963, until Johnson retired in January 1969 (New York Times, Jan. 11, 1969, p. 4). It is likely, however, their relationship began prior to President Kennedy's assassination.
11. Manchester, op. cit., p. 396 (PB).
12. Charles Roberts, op. cit., p. 133.

According to Manchester, "No,' she whispered fiercely. 'Let them see what they've done." (p. 396 (PB).)

13. Epstein, op. cit., p. 27.
14. Manchester, op. cit., p. 441 (PB).
    Walter Cronkite, "LBJ: Tragedy and Transition," CBS News, May 2, 1970.
    U.S. News & World Report, Nov. 14, 1966, p. 78.
15. CBS, 6:12 p.m. EST.
16. "Commission Exhibit No. 355. 'Copy of daily shift report of Secret Service Vice-Presidential detail for Friday, November 22, 1963," in Hearings, v. 16, p. 951.
17. Commission Document No. 7, p. 281.
18. John J. O'Leary, "Commission Exhibit No. 2554. '[Statement dated Nov. 30, 1963],' within Secret Service memorandum dated Nov. 30, 1963, regarding activities of various Secret Service agents on Nov. 22, 1963, in Dallas (CD 3, Exhibit 12, items 1-5)," in Hearings, v. 25, p. 788.
19. Commission Document No. 7, p. 281.
20. Ibid.
21. Manchester, op. cit., pp. 391, 392.
22. O'Leary, bc. cit.
23. Ibid.
24. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 349.
25. Doris M. Nelson, "Testimony of Doris Mae Nelson [dated March 20, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 146.
26. Commission Document No. 7, p. 283.
27. Ibid. Although the authors may have been the first to point this out in print with their 1975 article in Skeptic Magazine it was David Lifton who discovered this important piece of evidence years before in October 1966 and which was later detailed in his 1981 book *Best Evidence.* Many critics have falsely claimed David Lifton stole his material from Fred Newcomb but in truth Lifton is the originator of the "body alteration" theory and Newcomb was the originator of the SS Agent Greer as the assassin theory. Both reached their conclusions independently of the other.
28. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 354.
29. Josiah Thompson, "Six Seconds in Dallas," p. 109.

30. James J. Humes, "Commission Exhibit No. 397. 'Comdr. James J. Humes' handwritten autopsy report on President Kennedy and certificates regarding disposition of working papers and preliminary drafts of the autopsy report," in Hearings, v. 17, p. 33.
    "Commission Exhibit No. 387. 'Clinical record of the autopsy protocol prepared by the Naval Medical School, Bethesda, Md., on the autopsy performed on President Kennedy," in Hearings, v. 16, p. 979.
31. Kellerman, op. cit., v. 2, p. 82.
    Chapter 6-30
32. "Commission Exhibit No. 388. 'Schematic drawing made at Bethesda Naval Hospital from descriptions of what Comdr. James J. Humes observed at time of autopsy on President Kennedy, showing skull wound as viewed from above," in Hearings, v. 16, p. 984.
33. Humes, op. cit., v. 17, p. 34; v. 16, p. 980.
34. Ibid, v. 2, p. 361.
    Instead of a cut at the second tracheal ring, it was ". . . at approximately the level of the third and fourth tracheal rings . . ." (Humes, op. cit., v. 1 7, p. 34; v. 16, p. 980.) A ring is ". . . about 4 mm [0.16"] in depth . . ." (Henry Gray, Anatomy of the Human Body, p. 1140.)
35. Akin, op. cit., v. 6, p. 65.
36. Commission Document No. 7, p. 283.
37. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 362.
38. Commission Document No. 7, p. 282.
39. Bishop, op. cit., p. 283.
40. Harrison E. Livingstone, High Treason 2, p. 261.
41. Perry, op. cit., v. 6, p. 16; v. 3, p. 380.
    Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 361; v. 17, p. 31.
    At what time Humes called Perry is open to question. Perry said Humes called him twice: around 3 p.m., and then a half-hour later (Perry, op. cit., v. 6, p. 16). Humes mentions one conversation on Saturday morning with Perry (Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 362). Clark said Perry told him ". . . he had talked to the Bethesda Naval Hospital on two occasions that morning . . ." (Clark, op. cit., v. 6, p. 23.) Clark placed the time at prior to the second Parkland news conference on Nov. 23 (Ibid., V. 6, pp. 22, 23). That news

conference was held at 2:15 p.m. (Charles J. Price, "Price Exhibit No. 34," in Hearings, v. 21, p. 265).

42. William H. Carnes, Russell S. Fisher, Russell H. Morgan, Alan R. Moritz, 1968 Panel Review of Photographs, X-Ray Films, Documents and Other Evidence Pertaining to the Fatal Wounding of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963 in Dallas, Texas, p. 9.
43. New Orleans States-Item, Feb. 25, 1969, p. 58.
44. Associated Press, "The Lingering Shadow: The Warren Report and Its Critics," Chapter III, "The Autopsy." 45. Ibid.
46. Humes, op. cit., v. 17, p. 34; v. 16, p. 980.; v. 2, p. 363.
The bruise was ". . . wedge-shaped with its base toward the top of the chest and its apex down towards . . . the lung." (Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 362.) It measured about ". . . 48 cm [19 inches] in greatest diameter." (Ibid., v. 2, p. 369.) Aside from this, Humes stated, ". . . there was no defect in the pleural lining of the President's chest." (Ibid., v. 2, p. 363.)
47. 1968 Panel, p. 15.
48. Ibid., p. 13.
49. New York Herald Tribune, Dec. 19, 1963, p. 8.
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50. John K. Lattimer, "Observations Based on a Review of the Autopsy Photographs, XRays, and Related Materials of the Late President John F. Kennedy," Resident and Staff Physician, May 1972, pp. 49, 52.
51. 1968 Panel, p. 16.
52. Commission Document No. 7, p. 3.
53. Edward J. Epstein, Inquest, p. 61.
54. Commission Document No. 7, p. 7.
55. Don Gardner, ABC, Nov. 23, 1963.
56. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 351; v. 17, p. 35; v. 16, p. 980.
The damage to the skull was on its right side ". . . involving chiefly the parietal bone but extending somewhat into the temporal and occipital regions." (Humes, op. cit., v. 17, p. 35; v. 16, p. 980.) Humes may have underestimated the size because Boswell's chart (Fig. 6-6) shows the top of the skull as "missing."
57. Ibid., v. 2, p. 353.
58. Commission Document No. 7, p. 283.

59. Kellerman, op. cit., v. 2, p. 81.
60. Armed Forces, Autopsy Manual, p. 22.
61. Humes, op. cit., v. 17, p. 37; v. 16, p. 981.
62. Ibid.
63. 1968 Panel, p. 10.
64. Ibid.
65. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 354.
66. Armed Forces, Autopsy Manual, p. 72.
67. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 355.
Note: with greatest loss in the parietal lobe (Ibid).
68. Ibid., v. 2, p. 356.
"Commission Exhibit No. 391. 'Supplementary report of autopsy No. A63-272, on President John F. Kennedy, Naval Medical School, giving gross description of brain," in Hearings, v. 1 6, p. 987.
Seen from the top, the tear was 2.5 cm (0.975") to the right of the middle of the brain.
From the top, it was 5 or 6 cm (1.92-2.34") down into the brain. From the top of the skull, at its middle, it was 4.5 cm (1.755") down into the brain. (Ibid.) The difference is a diameter of about 1 cm (0.39"), or slightly larger than .38 caliber. The Secret Service was known to use .38 revolvers. (Colby, op. cit., p. 20; New York Times Magazine, Oct. 21, 1962, p. 80.) Note: bore diameter of a .38 is .357."
69. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 356.
70. Frontal and parietal portions. 1968 Panel, p. 8.
71. Ibid.
72. Humes, op. cit., v. 17, p. 37; v. 2, p. 355; v. 16, p. 981.
73. Ibid., v. 17, p. 46.
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74. Ibid., v. 2, p. 356; v. 16, p. 987.
1968 Panel, p. 8.
75. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 356; v. 16, p. 987.
76. Ibid., v. 2, pp. 355, 356.
1968 Panel, p. 7.
77. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 353; v. 1 7, p. 38; v. 16, p. 981.
As seen from the side, in the area overlying the coronal suture, the1968 Panel saw a ". . . group of finely divided fragments,"

running from front to back, 4.5 cm (1.7 inches) long and 0.8 cm (0.3 inches) wide (1968 Panel, p. 11).

78. Ibid., v. 2, p. 353.
1968 Panel, p. 10.

79. Cyril H. Wecht, "Pathologist's View of JFK Autopsy: An Unsolved Case," Modern Medicine, Nov. 27, 1972, p. 32.

80. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 354.
Commission Document No. 7, pp. 283-284.
The military autopsy manual notes, "Even though the bullet is not available, it may have left metallic traces in the skin or tissues by which its composition can be determined." (Armed Forces, Autopsy Manual, p. 60.)
While Humes testified he turned the fragments over to the Secret Service (Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 359), in his handwritten, undated autopsy report, he says he gave them to the two FBI agents present at the autopsy (Humes, op. cit., v. 17, p. 38). The FBI agents reported they signed a receipt at the autopsy for the fragments and then took them to the FBI lab (Commission Document No. 7, p. 284). Yet, the receipt the agents signed reads: "We hereby acknowledge receipt of a missile . . . ," not a fragment. Were there two deliveries—one to the FBI and one to the Secret Service?
At 1:45 a.m., on Nov. 23, 1963, FBI agents Sibert and O'Neill brought two fragments removed from the President's head to the FBI laboratory (Frazier, op. cit., v. 5, p. 73). In weight, one was 1.65 grains, the other 0.1 5 grains (Ibid).
Other bullet fragments were located elsewhere. Underneath the left jump seat of the
Presidential limousine were three small lead fragments whose total weight was 2.3 grains (Ibid., p. 66).
A jacketed nose area of a bullet fragment of 44.6 grains was found in the front seat next to the driver (Ibid., p. 67)(Robert A. Frazier, "Testimony of Robert A. Frazier [dated March 31, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 3, p. 432). The Secret Service supposedly found it in the limousine in Washington, D.C., after 9 p.m. (Commission Document No. 80, p. 3). Paul Paterni and Floyd M. Boring of the Secret Service gave it to Orrin Bartlett of the FBI who brought it to the FBI laboratory at 11:50 p.m., on Nov. 22, 1963 (Ibid., v. 5, p. 67).

A bottom portion of a bullet jacket fragment of 21 grains was found on the floor by the right side of the front seat of the limousine (Ibid). The same chain-of-possession occurred (Ibid., Chapter 6-33 pp. 67-68). A deposit of lead was present on the inside surface of the limousine windshield (Ibid., p. 68). The FBI was unable to examine the limousine until the early morning of the next day (Ibid., p. 71).
The FBI had all the fragments, including those taken from Connally, compared spectrographically (Ibid., pp. 67, 69, 73, 74). As a result, it could only say, ". . . they are of similar lead composition," (Ibid., p. 74) and nothing more specific. Whether or not all or some of the fragments were planted is another question.
The FBI's analysis was referred to by Commission general counsel J. Lee Rankin in January 1964. He said, ". . . the Atomic Energy Commission . . . are trying to determine . . . whether they can relate them [the bullet fragments] to various guns and the different parts . . ." (Commission, Report of Proceedings, Jan. 27, 1964, p. 194.)
The U.S. Energy Research and Development Administration (AEC's successor) advised that the FBI, which ". . . was in charge of the work," be contacted for the report. ERDA noted, "Emission spectroscopic analysis and neutron activation analysis methods were used on the paraffin casts (taken from L. Oswald) and bullet fragments to try to determine, respectively, the source of primer residue as well as the correlation in identification of the bullet fragments. The neutron activation technique is one of the most sensitive modes of trace metal analysis . . ." (James L. Liverman, Letter to Fred T. Newcomb, dated Feb. 13, 1975.)
FBI director Hoover reported to the Commission spectrographic analysis found ". . . no significant differences . . ." Under neutron activation analysis, ". . . minor variations in composition were found, [but] these were not considered sufficient to permit positively differentiating among the larger bullet fragments . . ." (J. Edgar Hoover, Letter to J. Lee Rankin, dated July 8, 1964.)
According to the report, the analysis found all the bullet fragments had the same metallic substance, except for a wide range of

antimony. But the fragments were not compared with the lead in the windshield or with CE 399 (the Parkland stretcher bullet).
81. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 371.
82. New Orleans States-Item, Feb. 24, 1969, p. 7B.
83. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 354.
84. James J. Humes, J. Thornton Boswell, and Pierre A. Finck [Examination of Autopsy XRays and Photographs on Jan. 30, 1967], p. 1.
85. Commission Document No. 7, p. 285.
86. Ibid.
87. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, pp. 355, 357. Commission Document No. 7, p. 285.
88. Thompson, op. cit., p. 109.
89. Commission Document No. 80, p. 3.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. Frazier, op. cit., v. 5, p. 71.
93. Commission Document No. 7, p. 283.
94. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 354.
95. William G. Harper.
Commission Document No. 5, pp. 1 50, 151.
Commission Document No. 1395.
96. Dr. Jack C. Harper. Dr. A.B. Cairns.
Commission Document No. 1395.
97. Ibid.
98. Commission Document No. 5, p. 1 51.
99. Ibid.
100. Commission Document No. 1269.
101. "Commission Exhibit No. 391," op. cit., v. 16, pp. 987-989.
102. Weitzman, op. cit., v. 7, p. 107.
103. Ibid.
104. Interview with Harry D. Holmes.
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid.
107. Humes, op. cit., v. 17, p. 36; v. 16, p. 981.
108. Ibid.
109. Carrico, op. cit., v. 3, p. 361.
Perry, op. cit., v. 3, p. 372; v. 6, p. 16.

Clark, op. cit., v. 6, p. 25.
McClelland, op. cit., v. 6, p. 35.
Peters, op. cit., v. 6, p. 71.
110. Diana H. Bowron, "Testimony of Diana Hamilton Bowron [dated March 24, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 136.
Henchliffe, op. cit., v. 6, p. 141.
111. 1968 Panel, p. 11.
Lattimer, op. cit., p. 52.
112. 1968 Panel, p. 11.
113. Humes et al., [Examination], p. 3.
114. United States, ex. rel. State of Louisiana v. Dr. James B. Rhoads, District of Columbia Court of General Sessions, Civil Division, Misc. no. 825-69A, Feb. 14, 1969, p. 14.
115. Ibid.
116. Richard J. Whalen, "Kennedy Assassination," The Saturday Evening Post, Jan. 14, 1967, p. 69.
117. Ibid.
118. Commission Document No. 7, p. 284.
119. CBS Reports Inquiry, "The Assassins," Nov. 25, 1975.
120. Commission Document No. 7, p. 284.
121. New Orleans States-Item, Feb. 25, 1969, p. 5A.
122. Kellerman, op. cit., v. 2, p. 93.
123.New Orleans States-Item, Feb. 24, 1969, p. 78.
124. FBI Supplemental Report, Jan. 13, 1964, p. 2.
125. Commission Document No. 7, p. 284.
126. New Orleans States-Item, Feb. 25, 1969, p. 5A.
127. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 361.
Greer, op. cit., v. 2, p. 127.
128. New Orleans States-Item, Feb. 25, 1969, p. 5A.
129. Carrico, op. cit., v. 3, pp. 358, 360.
130. Carrico, op. cit., v. 3, p. 368; v. 6, p. 3.
Perry, op. cit., v. 3, p. 382; v. 6, p. 1 7.
Clark, op. cit., v. 6, pp. 25, 29.
McClelland, op. cit., v. 6, pp. 34, 39.
Jones, op. cit., v. 6, p. 56.
131. Bowron, op. cit., v. 6, p. 136.
Henchliffe, op. cit., v. 6, p. 141.
132. Carrico, op. cit., v. 6, p. 4.

133. Ibid., p. 3.
134. Ibid., p. 4.
135. Report of the President's Commission, p. 106.
136. CBS Log, KRLD Dallas, Reel No. 5 "B," Nov. 22, 1963, p. 12, approximately 5 p.m.
137. Clinton J. Hill, op. cit., v. 18, p. 743.
138. Kellerman, op. cit., v. 2, p. 100.
139. Ibid.
140. Commission Document No. 7, pp. 281-283.
141. Kellerman, op. cit., v. 2, p. 100.
142. Hill, op. cit., v. 2, p. 143.
143. Commission Document No. 7, p. 284.
144. Kellerman, op. cit., v. 2, p. 93.
Bishop, op. cit., pp. 498, 499.
145. Ibid.
146. Perry, op. cit., v. 6, p. 16.
147. Humes, op. cit., v. 1 7, p. 29.
148. Perry, op. cit., v. 6, p. 17.
149. Humes, op. cit., v. 17, p. 30; v. 16, p. 978.
150. Arlen Specter, Memorandum to J. Lee Rankin, dated March 12, 1964, p. 1.
151. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 350.
152. Ibid., v. 16, p. 981.
153. Manchester, op. cit., p. 1 78 (PB).
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154. Humes, op. cit., v. 1 7, pp. 33-34; v. 16, p. 980.
155. 1968 Panel, pp. 8, 9.
156. CBS Reports Inquiry, "The Assassins," Nov. 25, 1975.
157. Armed Forces, Autopsy Manual, p. 56.
158. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 364.
159. Greer, op. cit., v. 2, p. 125.
160. Ibid.
Interview with William R. Greer.
161. Ibid.
162. Greer, op. cit., v. 18, p. 723.
163. Commission Document No. 7, p. 282.
164. Commission Document No. 205, p. 153.

165. Jimmy Breslin, "A Death in Emergency Room No. One," The Saturday Evening Post, Dec. 14, 1963, p. 30.
166. New York Times, Nov. 30, 1963, p. 10.
167. Greer, op. cit., v. 2, p. 125.
168. Frazier, op. cit., v. 5, pp. 59, 60.
169. 1968 Panel, p. 13.
170. Ibid., p. 14.
171. The location of the hole nearly 6 inches down from the coat collar also conflicted with "schematic drawings" of the back wound prepared for Humes' testimony. The drawing located the back wound at the top of the shoulder. Humes' explanation included his assertion the President's muscular development would cause the hole in the coat to fit high on his back (Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 366). Compare "Commission Exhibit No. 393. 'Coat worn by President Kennedy at time of assassination," in Hearings, v. 1 7, p. 24, with "Commission Exhibit No. 386. 'Schematic drawing made at Bethesda Naval Hospital from description of what Comdr. James J. Humes observed at time of autopsy on President Kennedy, showing view from posterior aspect of entry wound to neck area and also the skull wound," in Hearings, v. 16, p. 977.
172. Frazier, op. cit., v. 5, p. 61.
173. Ibid., p. 62.
174. Ibid., p. 59.
175. Ibid., p. 62.
176. Ibid.
177. Ibid., p. 61.
178. Paulette Cooper, "President Kennedy's Brain Is Missing," True, May 1973, p. 119.
179. Livingstone, op. cit., p. 583.
180. O'Leary, op. cit., v. 25, p. 788.
181. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 349.
182. Commission Document No. 7, p. 283.
183. Humes, bc. cit.
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184. Ibid.
185. Commission Document No. 7, bc. cit.
186. See Chart II.
187. Commission Document No. 7, p. 285.

188. "Commission Exhibit No. 391," op. cit., v. 16, p. 988.
189. New York Times, Jan 6, 1968, p. 1 5.
190. James J. Humes, J. Thornton Boswell, John H. Ebersole, and John 1. Stringer, Report of Inspection by Naval Medical Staff on November 1, 1966 at National Archives of X-Rays and Photographs of Autopsy of President John F. Kennedy.
191. Ibid., p. 11.
192. Ibid., p. 10.
193. 1968 Panel.
194. Naval Medical Staff, Report, p. 2.
195. 1968 Panel, p. 5.
196. Ibid., pp. 7, 5.
197. Ibid., p. 7.
198. Naval Medical Staff, Report, p. 2.
1968 Panel, p. 12.
Lattimer, op. cit., p. 47.
199. Naval Medical Staff, Report, bc. cit.
1968 Panel, bc. cit.
200. Lattimer, bc. cit.
Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 353.
Chart II. Inventory of Autopsy Pictures.
Nov. 26, 1963 Oct. 29, 1966
Source: Corn. Doc. No. 7, p. 285. Source: New York Times, Jan. 6, 1968, pp. 1, 15.
Neg. Type No. Comments Neg. Type No. Comments
X-ray 1 X-ray 10 x 12 1
2 2
3 3
4 4
5 5
6 6
7 x-rayl4xl7 7
8 8
9 9
10 10
11 11
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12 Missing Nov. 26, 1963

13 Missing Nov. 26, 1963
14 Missing Nov. 26, 1963
B&W 1 B&W Negs 1
4x52 2
3 3
4 4
5 5
6 6
7 7
8 8
9 9
10 10
11 11
12 12
13 13
14 14
15 15
16 16
17 17
18 18
B&W 4 x 5 19 During examination of the brain on
20 Dec. 6, 1963, seven black and white
21 negatives were exposed (Commission
22 Exhibit No. 391, v. 16, p. 988).
23
24
25
Nov. 26, 1963 (continued) Oct. 29, 1966 (continued)
Neg. type No Comment Neg. type No. Comments
Color 1 Color 4 x 5
4 x 5 2 transparency 2
3 3
4 4
5 5
6 6
7 7
8 8

9 9
10 10
11 11
12 12
13 13
14 14
15 15
16 16
17 17
18 18
19 19
20 20
21 21
22 22
23 During examination of the brain on 24 Dec. 6, 1963, six color
4 x 5 negatives 25 were exposed (Commission Exhibit No. 26
391, v. 16, p. 988).
27 Only five on this date.
4 x 5 film 1 Exposed. No image.
2 Exposed. No image.
3 Exposed. No image.
4 Exposed. No image.
5 Exposed. No image.
Color film 1 roll Exposed. Black, with no image.
Color film 1 pc. Unexposed.
120 film 1 Exposed Note: In their agreement with the
2 Exposed. government, the Kennedys turned over
3 Exposed. ". . . certain x-rays and photographs con-
4 Exposed. nected with the autopsy . . ." not all (New
5 Exposed. York Times, Jan. 6, 1968, p. 1 5).
Total 56 FBI Total 72 Negatives & Transparencies listing 1 Roll
of film
Inventory: April 26, 1965
Neg. type No. Neg. type No. Comments x-ray 10 x 12 1 color
transparency 1 Note: John T. Stover, Jr., the
2 4 x 5 2 photographer, stated in a memo of
3 3 Nov. 22, 1963, ". . . the total amount of

4 4 film exposed . . ." was 9 film holders
5 5 with 12 black & white sheets, and
6 6 11 holders with 16 color sheets. He x-ray 14 x 17 7 7 corrected
6 to 9 holders, and 8 to 11.
8 8 Given 2 sheets per holder, 12 sheets
9 9 should have been changed to read 18,
10 10 and l6 to 22.
11 11 The 1966 Humes/Boswell inventory
12 1 2 refers to 8 x 10 (not 10 x 1 2) x-rays.
13 13
14 14
B&Wnegs. 1 15
2 16
3 17
4 18
5 19
6 20
7 21
8 22
9 23
10 24
11 25
12 26
13 27
14 4 x 5 film 1 Exposed film; no image.
15 2
16 3
17 4
18 5
4 x 5 19 color film 1 roll Exposed; black with no image apparent
20 color film 1 pc. Unexposed.
21 Total 72 Negatives & transparencies
22 1 roll of film
23 Source: George G. Burkley, "Transferred to Mrs. Lincoln,
24 National Archives,
25 April 26, 1965."
Inventory: Nov. 1, 1966

Neg. No. ID Description Comments x-ray 1 21296 SKULL; front-back view ". . . slight heat damaged . . ."
8 x 10 2 21296 SKULL; side, right ". . . two angle lines
3 21296 SKULL; side view overdrawn on the film . . ."
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4 None BONE fragments, three Numbers 1-6: 10 x 12 size
5 None BONE fragments, three on Oct. 29, 1966
6 None BONE fragments, three x-ray
7 21296 ABDOMEN; front-back view 14 x 17
8 21296 SHOULDER, right & CHEST, right front-back view
9 21296 CHEST; front-back view
10 21296 SHOULDER, left & CHEST, left front-back view
11 21296 CHEST, lower & ABDOMEN front-back view
12 21296 THIGHS, both & KNEE JOINTS, both front-back view
13 21296 PELVIS; front-back view ". . . myebogram media . . ."
14 21296 PELVIS, lower; HIPS & THIGHS, upper front-back view
B&W 1 HEAD, left, & SHOULDERS negs 2 similar
4 x 5 3 similar
4 similar
5 HEAD, right & SHOULDER, right
6 similar
7 HEAD, above
8 similar
9 similar
10 similar
11 SHOULDER, wound; back view
12 similar
13 HEAD, front & TORSO, upper shows tracheotomy wound
14 similar ". . . somewhat closer view . . ."
15 SKULL, wound, right, rear occipital area
16 similar
17 similar shows wound ". . . following
18 similar reflection of scalp . . ."
19 JIB BRAIN, below
20 JIB BRAIN, above
21 JTB BRAIN, below

22 JTB BRAIN ". . . direct basilar view . . ."
23 JIB BRAIN, above shows ". . . extensive damage
24 JIB similar to right cerebral hemisphere"
25 JIB similar
Neg. type No. Description: Nov. 1, 1966 (continued) Comments
Color transparencies 26 HEAD, right side
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4 x 5 27 similar
28 similar
29 HEAD, left side
30 similar
31 similar
32 HEAD, above
33 similar
34 similar
35 similar
36 similar
37 similar
38 SHOULDER, wound, right, upper back
39 SHOULDER, wound, right, upper back
40 HEAD & TORSO, upper front shows tracheotomy wound
41 similar
42 HEAD, wound, right occipital area
43 similar
44 HEAD, wound, back ". . . with scalp reflected."
45 similar
46 BRAIN, below
47 similar
48 similar
49 color negative; no transparency made from 47, which has better
Has brush hair color intensity
50 BRAIN, above
51 similar
52 now seven brain pictures
B & W negs 4 x 5 1 unexposed Kennedys say exposed; developed
2unexposed developed

3unexposed developed
4unexposed developed
5unexposed developed
Ektachrome film 4x5 unexposed undeveloped
Ektachrome transparency 4 x 5 1 unexposed developed
120 color film roll no recognizable image Processed. SS exposed to light.
Total 72 negatives & transparencies
2 rolls of film
Source: Humes, Boswell, Ebersole, & Stringer, Report of Inspection by
Chapter 6-43
Naval Medical Staff on November 1, 1966 at National Archives of X-Rays and Photographs of Autopsy . . . Inventory: Feb. 26-27, 1968
Neg. No. ID no. Description Comments x-ray 1 21296 SKULL; front-back view Possible heat damage in 2 small areas 2 21296 SKULL; left side Right side in Nov 66. Rear hole 4" high. Converging pencil lines drawn on film.
3 21296 SKULL; left side Slightly different projection
4 21296 SKULL FRAGMENTS
5 21296 SKULL FRAGMENTS
6 21296 SKULL FRAGMENTS
7 21296 CHEST & STOMACH; front-back view
8 21296 CHEST, right, SHOULDER & ARM, upper. Lower neck can be seen.
9 21296 CHEST; front-back view lower neck can be seen
10 21296 CHEST, left, SHOULDER & ARM, upper. Lower neck can be seen.
11 21296 CHEST & STOMACH front-back view
12 21296 THIGHS, lower & KNEES front-back view
13 21296 PELVIS, front-back view has 1 mm dia. "round opaque structure"
14 21296 LEGS, upper; front-back view
18 1 JB HEAD & NECK, left side
17 2 JB HEAD & NECK, left side
6 3 JB HEAD & NECK, left side
15 4 JB HEAD & NECK, left side

12 5 JB HEAD, right, above + part of face, NECK, SHOULDER + CHEST, upper
11 6 JB same
8 7 JB HEAD, above
13 8 JB HEAD, above
5 9 JB HEAD, above
16 1O JB HEAD, above
Chapter 6-44
9 11 JB BACK&NECK
10 12 JB BACK&NECK
4 13 JB HEAD, right, above + part of face, NECK, SHOULDER + CHEST, upper
3 l4 JB same
14 1 5 JB HEAD, back
7 16 JB HEAD, back
2 17 JB CRANIAL CAVITY, above, front lack of contrast & clarity of detail
1 1 8 JB same lack of contrast & clarity of detail
B&W 19 JB BRAIN same as 46-5 2 negs 20 JB BRAIN same as 46-52
21 JB BRAIN same as 46-52
22 JB BRAIN same as 46-52
23 JB BRAIN same as 46-5 2
24 JB BRAIN same as 46-52
25 JBBRAIN same as 46-52
Inventory: Feb. 26-2 7, 1968 (continued)
No. Description Comments
26 HEAD, right & above + part of face, NECK, SHOULDER + CHEST, upper
27 same
28 same
29 HEAD & NECK, left side
30 HEAD & NECK, left side
31 HEAD & NECK, left side
32 HEAD, above
33 HEAD, above
34 HEAD, above
35 HEAD, above

36 HEAD, above
37 HEAD, above
38 BACK+ NECK
39 BACK + NECK
40 HEAD, right & above + part of face, NECK, SHOULDER + CHEST, upper
41 same
42 HEAD, back
43 HEAD, back
44 CRANIAL CAVITY, above, front—brain removed Lack of contrast &
Chapter 6-45 clarity of detail.
45 same same
46 BRAIN, below
47 BRAIN, below
48 BRAIN, below
49BRAIN, below
50BRAIN, above Gray-brown rectangular
51 BRAIN, above structure, 13 x 20 mm. Not
52 BRAIN, above in previous inventories.
Total: 66 negatives.
Source: William H. Carnes, Russell S. Fisher, Russel H. Morgan, Alan R. Moritz, 1968
Panel Review of Photographs, X-Ray Films, Documents and Other Evidence Pertaining to the
Fatal Wounding of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963 in Dallas, Texas.

201. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 349.
202. Whalen, op. cit., p. 69.
203. Commission Document No. 7, p. 285.
Kellerman's receipt for these films is not at the National Archives. On April 2, 1973, Jane F. Smith, director, Civil Archives Division, wrote, "We do not have the receipt signed by Special Agent Roy Kellerman for films taken at the autopsy of President Kennedy."
204. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 351.
205. Commission Document No. 371, p. 1.
206. Ibid.
207. "Commission Exhibit No. 391," op. cit., v. 16, p. 988.

208. Ibid.
209. Armed Forces, Autopsy Manual, p. 56.
210. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 372.
211. Whalen, bc. cit.
212. Arlen Specter, "Memorandum to Mr. J. Lee Rankin; Subject: Interview of Autopsy surgeons," dated March 12, 1964, p. 2.
Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 350.
213. Humes, op. cit., v. 2, p. 350.
214. Humes et ab, [Examination], p. 1.
215. Ibid.
216. Humes, op. cit., v. 17, p. 47.
217. Humes et al, [Examination], p. 1.
218. Commission Document No. 371, p. 99.
Fletcher Knebel, "A New Wave of Doubt; Concerning Inquest by E.J. Epstein," Look, July 12, 1966, p. 71.
Chapter 6-46
219. Ibid.
220. See "Commission Exhibit No. 397," Op. cit., V. 17, pp. 30, 45, 47, and 48.
221. Knebel, op. cit., p. 71.
222. New York Times, Dec. 26, 1966, p. 25.
223. Whalen, bc. cit.
224. Ibid.
225. Humes, op. cit., v. 16, p. 981.
226. "Commission Exhibit No. 391," op. cit., v. 16, pp. 987-989.
227. Ibid.
228. Ibid., p. 987.
229. Wecht, op. cit., p. 32.
230. Ibid., p. 31.
231. "Commission Exhibit No. 391," op. cit., v. 16, p. 988.
232. Ibid.
233. Livingstone, op. cit., p. 189.
234. Ibid.
235. Whalen, bc. cit.
236. New York Times, Aug. 27, 1972, p. 57.
237. Ibid.
238. Jacob Cohen, "What the Warren Report Omits: The Vital Documents," Nation, July 11, 1966, p. 47.

239. Ibid.
240. Ibid.
241. Newsweek, Aug. 15, 1966, p. 31.
242. New York Times, Jan. 6, 1968, p. 1 5.
243. Ibid., Aug. 27, 1972, p. 57.
244. Ibid.
245. George G. Burkley, "Transferred to Mrs. Lincoln, National Archives, April 26, 1965," p. 1.
246. James B. Rhoads, Letter to Fred T. Newcomb, dated June 20, 1972.
247. Humes et al, [Examination], p. 2.
248. J. Thornton Boswell, "Letter to the Honorable Ramsey Clark, Attorney General," dated Jan. 26, 1968.
249. 1968 Panel, pp. 5-6.
250. New York Times, Jan. 9, 1972, p. 1.
251. Ibid., Aug. 27, 1972, p. 1.

Chapter 6-47

252. "According to a family spokesman," said Time, Robert Kennedy obtained the brain and tissues, but ". . . did not tell other family members what he did with these parts of his brother's body. They assume . . . he destroyed or buried them." (Time, Nov. 24, 1975, p. 33.)

Medford Evans called attention to the latter possibility. John Kennedy was reburied on March 1 5, 1967, only 20 feet from the original grave site, which had been carefully chosen.

During the late evening of March 14, 1967, the coffin was moved under the watchful eyes of Robert Kennedy.

The timing may have been important because of news about the New Orleans District Attorney's investigation into the assassination.

Though that D.A. later proved to have nothing, ". . . at the outset who could tell what the outcome would be?" asked Evans. And, given the timing, was a deal struck between Johnson and Kennedy to bury certain evidence?

Early in the morning of March 1 5th, the Kennedy family, friends, and officials—together with Lyndon Johnson and Secret Service agents—held a private ceremony over the new grave site.

(Medford Evans, "Why Was J.F.K.'s Body Reburied?" The Review of the News, Oct. 15, 1975, pp. 33, 38-40.)

253. Washington Evening Star, Nov. 26, 1963, p. 5.
254. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1966, v. 2, p. 1322.
255. Ibid.
256. Cohen, op. cit., p. 47.
257. Boswell, bc. cit.
258. Their report was released a year later. Its timing was deliberate: "Release of the report was connected with the court case in which New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison is seeking release of the autopsy photographs and x-rays." (Los Angeles Times, Jan. 1 7, 1969, Pt. 1, p. 19.)
259. Lady Bird Johnson, "A White House Diary Part II: The Last Years: Doubts and Dilemmas," McCall's, Dec. 1970, p. 104.

Walter Cronkite, CBS News, "LBJ: Why I Chose Not To Run," Dec. 27, 1969.

Johnson, The Vantage Point, op. cit., p. 429.

PART III

CONSOLIDATION

Chapter Seven

Scapegoat: How Oswald Was Set Up

Consolidation of the conspirators' gains falls into three areas: A scapegoat, a war, and Robert Kennedy.

To strengthen their hand, the plotters needed certain supportive elements: A scapegoat, a planted bullet matching a planted rifle, and a rebuilt limousine were subject to direct control. A commission of investigation could be influenced by the man who appointed them.

The aftermath of the assassination was a victory for those who had opposed President Kennedy's peaceful foreign policies. Had he lived, no war escalation in Vietnam would have occurred. Although not the main impetus for assassination this had the desired result for the plotters. The President's brother made an attempt to move against these forces, but to no avail.

Scapegoat

Lee H. Oswald said he was on the first-floor lunchroom of the depository building during the shooting, and then went to the second floor for a Coca-Cola.[1] In less than one minute and 15 seconds after the first shot, [2] a police officer ran into the depository, thinking the shots had come from one of the upper floors, and found Oswald in the lunchroom, ". . . calm and collected,"[3] ". . . drinking a Coke." [4] At the time, the officer held his drawn gun 3 feet from Oswald. [5]

As the officer pointed his gun at Oswald, the manager of the depository ran up and identified Oswald as an employee. [6] The officer was neither asked nor did he explain why he had singled out Oswald from among others in the building; he did not see a gunman fire from the building.

A clerical supervisor passed Oswald on the second floor more than two minutes after the last shot had been fired. [7] She said he was "very calm," and was walking slowly. [8]

Orders for the Dodd Committee

Oswald answered mail-order gun ads at a time when a Senate subcommittee was investigating the gun mail-order business. Hearings ran from January to May 1963, and began again in spring 1964. Both firms that Oswald ordered from were being investigated.

Sen. Thomas J. Dodd, Lyndon Johnson's friend, chaired this subcommittee. Dodd hired investigators to sample the market in mail-order guns. The investigators would place mail orders to determine if companies followed federal and state laws.[9]

In March 1963, Oswald, under the name of A.J. Hidell [10], sent for some mail-order guns. He ordered a 36-inch, 6.5 mm Italian carbine from Klein's Sporting Goods Inc. of Chicago, Ill. [11] From Seaport Traders Inc. of Los Angeles he ordered a Smith and Wesson .38 with a two-inch barrel. [12] Klein's and Seaport shipped the guns on March 20, 1963, to P.O. Box 2915, Dallas, TX [13] Klein's sent the rifle via Parcel Post; Seaport shipped the revolver by Railway Express. [14]

No record exists to show Hidell/Oswald ever took possession of these firearms. Part three of postal form No. 1039, which listed those with access to a postal box, was thrown away. [15] Postal regulations required this be kept for two years after the box was closed. [16]

Texas law required "purchaser of pistol must secure certificate of good character from Justice of Peace, County Judge or District Judge." [17] Railway Express, by its own rules, had to compare a customer's signature with his

signature on a legal document, such as a driver's license. [18] No Railway Express forms are in evidence to show the revolver was actually delivered.

Both rifle and revolver were available in several Dallas gun shops at the time. [19] Oswald told police and the FBI during interrogation he bought the revolver in Fort Worth. [20]

But Oswald's role went further than merely placing orders. If he could engage in visible and provocative activities and still buy mail-order guns, then the Dodd Committee could use this record at hearings with mail-order dealers. There were several examples.

On Aug. 9, 1963, while Oswald distributed "Fair Play for Cuba" literature in New Orleans, he got into a fight and was arrested. [21] The Warren Report noted, ". . . he asked the New Orleans police to arrange for him to be interviewed by the FBI." [22] During that interview in jail, he claimed a man named Hidell asked him to pass out literature. [23] He also told a local attorney someone paid him $25 a day to do this. [24]

On Aug. 17, 1963, Oswald was interviewed on a New Orleans radio station about his pro-Castro activities. [25] Four days later, on the same station, he was part of a panel discussion with an anti-Castro Cuban who, at a press conference afterwards, called for a congressional investigation of Oswald. [26]

In September 1963, Oswald went to Mexico City where he applied for a visa at both the Soviet Embassy [27] and Cuban Consulate. [28]Such activities, plus his background of ostensible defection to Russia, came to the attention of several federal agencies, including the Secret Service.

After the assassination, police found blank mail order coupons and complete ads among Oswald's belongings in Dallas. [29] One of the coupons matched a June 1963 issue of the American Rifleman magazine found in the Crescent City garage in New Orleans. [30]

The Crescent City garage, as well as its part owner, Adrian T. Alba, and Oswald, was well known to the Secret Service. Agents' official cars were stored there. [31]

Oswald would browse through a collection of gun magazines at the Crescent City garage and discuss them with Alba. According to Alba, Oswald ". . . pursued the issue of ordering guns and how many guns had I ordered, and how long did it take to get them, and where had I ordered from." [32]

The day after the assassination, the Secret Service examined these magazines, and took ". . . two of the guns magazines . . ." from the garage. [33] By the time the FBI arrived, these magazines had been removed. [34] When the Dallas police arrested Oswald, they found a revolver, serial number V510210, in his possession. [35]

In spring 1964, Dodd's committee again held hearings. The committee asked Seaport Traders, where Oswald had ordered his revolver, to furnish it with originals, or copies, of their invoices for the years 1961-1963. Seaport was required to keep those records under Federal law, enforced by the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division (ATF)—like the Secret Service—a part of the Treasury Department. [36]

The owner of Seaport Traders was tardy in supplying Dodd with the requested records. On April 25, 1964, Dodd charged the owner with stalling. [37] Seaport had supplied a list of gun shipments with dates, addresses and serial numbers, instead of copies of the actual invoices. The committee found the list was incomplete. [38] The ATF, which licenses gun dealers, made up the incomplete list for Seaport. [39]

The Dodd Committee published charts, based on the ATF-prepared Seaport records, to show a breakdown of shipments by geographical locations, from 1961-1963. The chart shows Seaport did not ship a .38 Smith and Wesson revolver to Dallas in 1963 (Fig. 7-1). [40] Oswald's gun, in effect, did not exist.

The ATF on Nov. 22, 1963

The ATF was busy in Dallas on the day of the assassination, especially concerning one man who posed a considerable threat to the assassination plot: FBI agent James P. Hosty, Jr. As the Warren Report noted, "The FBI

opened a file on Oswald in October 1959 when news reports appeared of his defection to the Soviet Union." [41]

By 1963, agent Hosty was in charge of Oswald's file. [42] In trying to learn where Oswald was living in Dallas, "on Nov. 4, Hosty telephoned the Texas School Book Depository and learned that Oswald was working there . . ." [43]

For the plotters, the possibility existed that Hosty could have decided to routinely check on Oswald on Nov. 22. Consequently, Hosty was "delayed" in a conference with an agent from ATF as well as one from Army Intelligence. "This conference," recalled Hosty, "lasted most of the morning . . ." Hosty left at 11:45 a.m. Now on his lunch hour, he watched the motorcade pass as he stood some eight blocks from the depository. [44]

The ATF also did some follow-up work immediately after the assassination. According to Dallas Police Chief Curry, ". . . members of the United States Alcohol Tax unit helped police officers in . . ." their search around the depository after the assassination. [45] One of the ATF agents was Frank L. Ellsworth. [46]

The ATF and Ellsworth may also have been involved with obtaining the conviction of a businessman whose gun shop carried ammunition for the planted depository rifle. John T. Masen, of Masen's Gun Shop, was convicted of selling guns without keeping adequate records on Nov. 14, 1963. [47] His store was one of two places in Dallas where that type of ammunition was available. [48] Had the planted ammunition been purchased there by someone other than Oswald—Masen was unable to identify Oswald as a buyer [49]—records of purchase would be incriminating and would have to be eliminated.

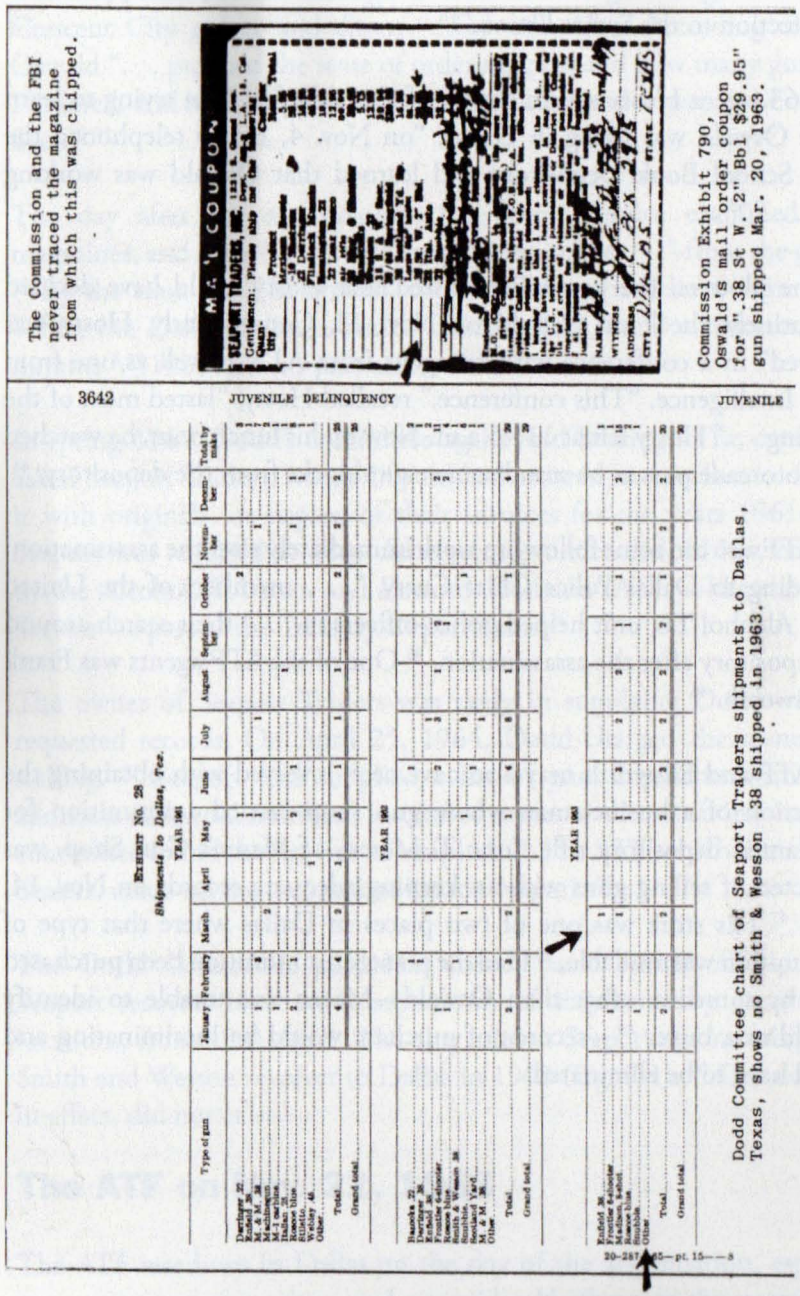

The Commission and the FBI never traced the magazine from which this was clipped.
M.A.I. COUPON
Commission Exhibit 790, Oswald's mail order coupon for ".38 St W. 2" Bbl $29.95" gun shipped Mar. 20, 1963.
3642
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
JUVENILE
EXHIBIT No. 28
Shipments to Dallas, Tex.
YEAR 1961
YEAR 1962
YEAR 1963
Dodd Committee chart of Seaport Traders shipments to Dallas, Texas, shows no Smith & Wesson .38 shipped in 1963.

Fig. 7-1. Gun shipments to Dallas.

In spring 1964, it was ATF agent Ellsworth, together with Secret Service agents Howlett and Patterson, on their own initiative, who sought to discredit FBI agent Hosty, as well as mislead a Commission assistant counsel in his investigation. [50]

A Job on the Motorcade Route

As noted earlier, two sites were under consideration for the Dallas luncheon on Nov. 22, 1963: the Trade Mart, and the Women's Building. The motorcade route through downtown Dallas would depend upon the luncheon site selected.

The plot required Oswald to find work on one of the two likely motorcade routes. Fig. 7-2 shows both routes, with numbers indicating where Oswald looked for employment. From Oct. 4-15, he sought employment along both motorcade routes, long before the routes or luncheon sites were considered. [51]

Dallas police found among Oswald's personal belongings at a rooming house a marked map. [52] When the map was shown to him during questioning, he remarked, "My God, don't tell me there's a mark near where this thing [the assassination] happened." [53] Oswald told investigators he had made a number of marks on the map. "I was looking for work," he said, "and marked the places where I went for jobs and where I heard there were jobs." [54]

Oswald apparently was told not only where to look for work, but also which job to accept. He was offered a job at Love Field, where the President's plane landed, and also at a firm with showrooms in the Trade Mart, where the President's luncheon was to be held. At location No. 1, Trans-Texas Airways offered him a job as a cargo handler for $310 a month. [55] The job he accepted at the depository, location No, 6, paid only $208.82 a month. Two Warren Commission attorneys took note of this, stating, "standing alone, these two facts indicate that Oswald may have had a non-economic reason for taking the job at the TSBD [depository]." [56]

With Oswald in place, the Secret Service—the only agency with the authority to control the President's movements—could act. The motorcade

route would pass in front of where Oswald worked. This way it would appear Oswald's presence was purely coincidence in the assassination zone. [57] Had the route been publicly announced weeks before the Presidential visit, the Secret Service would have had to check the route carefully and later explain why it failed to keep someone like Oswald under surveillance.

In early November 1963, Secret Service agent Robert I. Bouck, of the Protective Research Section (PRS), claimed, "No cards were found in the file that would indicate the presence of any known seriously dangerous PRS subjects as residing in the Dallas area . . ." [58] This was asserted despite the attempted shooting of Gen. Walker in April 1963 and the attack on Ambassador Stevenson in October 1963. Agent Kellerman confirmed this: "The Protective Research Section did not furnish to the White House detail any reports of protective research-type subjects in the Dallas area, as that office did not have any record of such subjects." [59] Secret Service Chief Rowley reported to the Warren Commission the PRS file of persons considered a threat to the President ". . . contained approximately 100 names on November 22, 1963, covering the United States and certain foreign countries. Prior to the President's trip to Dallas, it was checked and no person was listed in the Dallas area." [60]

FBI agents said Secret Service agent Kellerman ". . . advised that as the ranking Secret Service agent with the President's party, he was responsible for the presidential security in Dallas.

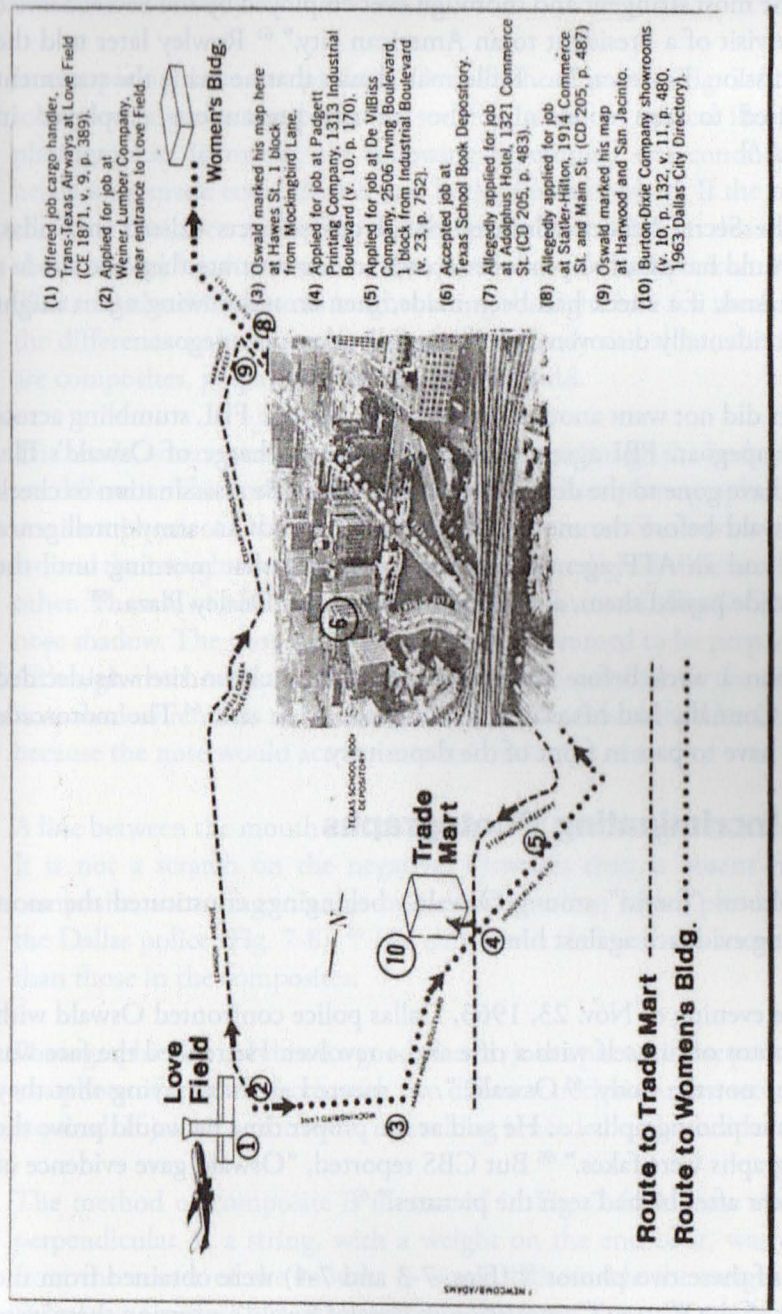

(1) Offered job cargo handler, Trans-Texas Airways at Love Field (CE 1871, v. 9, p. 389).
(2) Applied for job at Weiner Lumber Company, near entrance to Love Field.
(3) Oswald marked his map here at Hawes St., 1 block from Mockingbird Lane.
(4) Applied for job at Padgett Printing Company, 1313 Industrial Boulevard (v. 10, p. 170).
(5) Applied for job at De Villiss Company, 2506 Irving Boulevard, 1 block from Industrial Boulevard (v. 23, p. 752).
(6) Accepted job at Texas School Book Depository.
(7) Allegedly applied for job at Adolphus Hotel, 1321 Commerce St. (CD 205, p. 483).
(8) Allegedly applied for job at Statler-Hilton, 1914 Commerce St. and Main St. (CD 205, p. 487)
(9) Oswald marked his map at Harwood and San Jacinto.
(10) Burton-Dixie Company showrooms (v. 10, p. 132, v. 11, p. 480, 1963 Dallas City Directory).
Women's Bldg.
Love Field
Trade Mart
Route to Trade Mart
Route to Women's Bldg.

Fig. 7-2. Oswald's job applications along two likely motorcade routes.

He stated the advanced security arrangements made for this specific trip were the most stringent and thorough ever employed by the Secret Service for the visit of a President to an American city." [61] Rowley later told the Commission, however, ". . . Kellerman denies that he made the statement attributed to him concerning the security precautions employed in Dallas." [62]

Had the Secret Service admitted dangerous subjects existed in Dallas, they would have had to produce records to demonstrate they had made a check. And, if a check had been made, then an unknowing agent might have accidentally discovered their carefully placed scapegoat.

Plotters did not want another agency, especially the FBI, stumbling across their scapegoat. FBI agent Hosty, who was in charge of Oswald's file, might have gone to the depository on the day of the assassination to check on Oswald before the motorcade arrived. Instead, an army intelligence officer and an ATF agent kept Hosty occupied that morning until the motorcade passed them, about eight blocks from Dealey Plaza. [63]

Less than a week before the motorcade, the luncheon site was decided upon; Connally had his way with the Trade Mart site. [64] The motorcade would have to pass in front of the depository.

The Incriminating Photographs

Two photos "found" among Oswald's belongings constituted the most damning evidence against him.

On the evening of Nov. 23, 1963, Dallas police confronted Oswald with two photos of himself with a rifle and a revolver. He replied the face was his, but not the body. [65] Oswald ". . . sneered at them saying that they were fake photographs . . . He said at the proper time he would prove the photographs were fakes." [66] But CBS reported, "Oswald gave evidence of some fear after he had seen the pictures." [67]

Prints of these two photos [68] (Figs. 7-3 and 7-4) were obtained from the records of the Warren Commission to check Oswald's assertion these were fakes. A fake-or composite-photo can be one in which two or more images

are combined into a single picture, such as placing one person's head on someone else's body.

In comparing these two pictures, Oswald's head in one (Fig. 7-3) appears to be too large for the body. To see if this was an optical illusion or a photographic distortion, the following experiment was conducted: The heads were made equal in size, and both photos overlaid. If the heads are the same size, then the bodies should match in size. But, in this case, both shoulder and leg dimensions differ. A side-by-side comparison (Fig. 7-5) illustrates the difference in height. Using the right foot for measurement, the difference scales-out to four inches. On body size alone, these photos are composites, prepared to incriminate Oswald.

The heads, when overlaid, are an exact match, although the body positions are different. This indicates whoever falsified these photographs had only one face photo of Oswald to use for both pictures. Shadows were added around the mouth of one to give it an expression slightly different from the other. The use of one face photo is also demonstrated (Fig. 7-6) with the nose shadow. The post in the background is assumed to be perpendicular. Although the head in one photograph tilts more than in the other, the nose shadow remains the same. Instead, the shadow should be at an angle because the nose would act as a sundial under the sun.

A line between the mouth and chin (Fig. 7-7) is in the grain of the photo: It is not a scratch on the negative. Oswald's chin is absent from the composite, according to a side-by-side comparison with a photo made by the Dallas police (Fig. 7-8). [69] His chin had a cleft and was more pointed than those in the composites.

Photographically, the chin is a good place to join a photo of one person's head to a photo of another's body with two different neck sizes. Less retouching is required. If joined at the neck, retouching is needed on both sides.

The method of composite is illustrated in Fig. 7-6. Assume the post is perpendicular. If a string, with a weight on the end of it, was dropped from the center of the mouth, it would fall outside the weight-bearing right foot. In effect, one attempting to duplicate this pose would fall over. This indicates separate photos were made of the entire body and ground

shadow, and of the background. Two errors are apparent. In Fig. 7-6, the figure was crookedly placed or printed on the photo. Second, the ground shadow is clear and sharp, failing to bump up and down over the contour of the grass.

John A. Clemente, a past national president and fellow of the Society of Photo-Optical Instrumentation Engineers, in his study of these pictures, concluded: ". . . both photos are forgeries . . ." [70]

The Warren Commission stated these photos were taken sometime in March 1963, when Oswald lived in the house shown in the background. [71] The grass, trees, and shrubbery in these photos were compared with those shown in other photos—taken at different seasons—at the same location. This study demonstrated the fake photos were made during a September-November period, a time when Oswald lived elsewhere.

These photos were taken at a location visible to neighbors and traffic. Yet no one recalled Oswald posing for such pictures at any time, even though standing in an area exposed to public view with a rifle and pistol would be conspicuous.

Life magazine featured one of the photos (Fig. 7-3) on the cover of its issue of Feb. 21, 1964, with the caption: "Lee Oswald with the weapons he used to kill President Kennedy and Officer Tippit." To some, this was proof of Oswald's guilt.

What was the source of these photos? According to the FBI, ". . . numerous unaccounted for copies of this photograph were readily available in Dallas, shortly after the assassination of President Kennedy." [72]

On the morning of Nov. 24, 1963, a Secret Service agent arrived in Washington, D.C., from Dallas. Around 7 a.m., he ". . . delivered the photograph [showing Oswald with a rifle] to the White House." [7]

"· · · a thoroughly safe risk . . ."

When the Commission questioned FBI director Hoover about his agency's information on Oswald prior to the assassination, Hoover replied: . . . the

report of the State Department . . . indicated this man was a thoroughly safe risk, he had changed his views, he was a loyal man now and had seen the light of day, so to speak.

Fig. 7-3. CE 133A.

Fig. 7-4. CE 133 B.

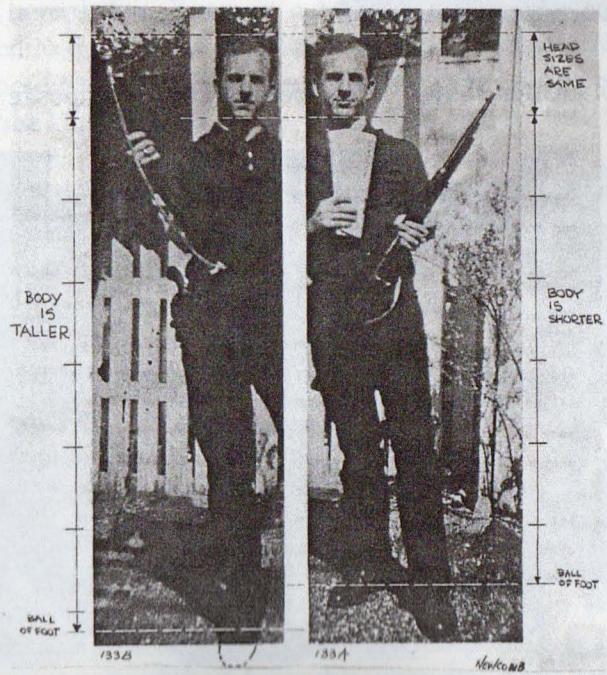


Fig. 7-5. Side-by-side comparison.

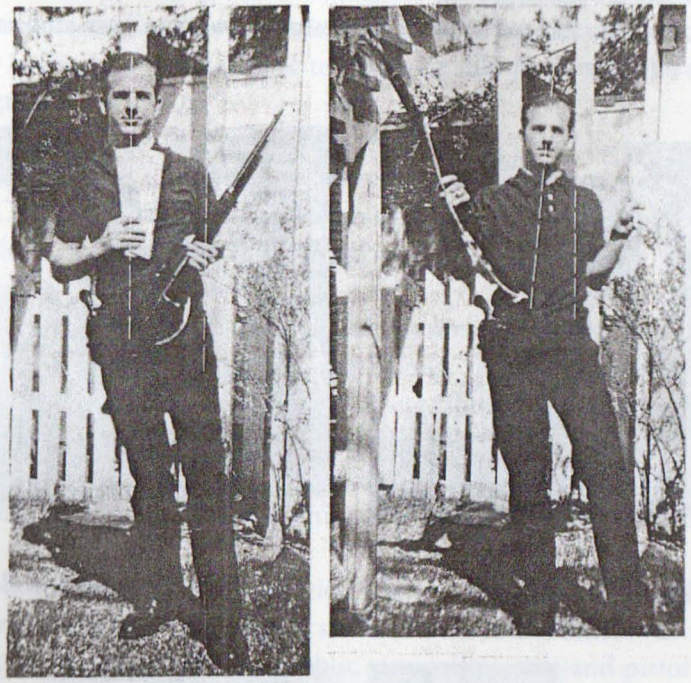


Fig. 7-6. Demonstration of one face photo and composite method.

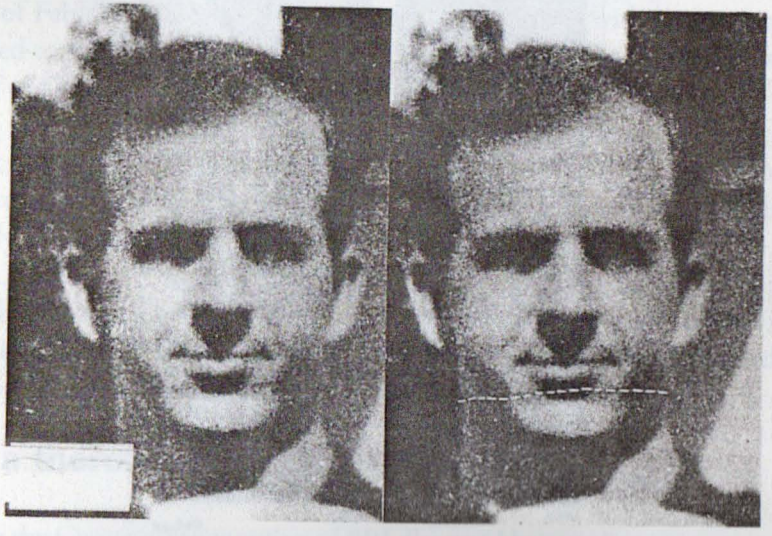


Fig. 7-7. Line between mouth and chin.

Fig. 7-8. Dallas police photo compared to composite.

How intensive or how extensive that interview in Moscow was, we don't know. But, nevertheless, it was in a State Department document that was furnished to the authors. [74] Hoover noted during that period, it was standard procedure for the State Department to clear a defector before he returned to the United States. [75]

Another governmental agency, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, sent a report to the FBI five days following the assassination. Its New York office told the FBI, "Oswald served in the U.S. Marine Corps and went to Russia with State Department approval to accept employment as a radar specialist." [76]

The State Department loaned Oswald the money to return to the United States from Russia in 1962. According to the Warren Commission, the Secretary of State was authorized ". . . to 'make expenditures . . . for unforeseen emergencies arising in the diplomatic and consular service.'" [77]

It was half-past midnight as the Cabinet plane landed in Washington, D.C., on the day after the assassination. Secretary of State Dean Rusk made a statement, then left. [78] Later that same day, "even before paying respects to Mr. Kennedy, Johnson conferred with his Cabinet. He spoke

with Secretary of State Dean Rusk at 9:20 a.m." [79] Also on the same day, the State Department declared, "Today in Washington State, department officials said they have no evidence indicating involvement of any foreign power in the assassination." [80] One of the members of the Warren Commission later felt this was a remarkable statement to make within 24 hours after the murder. [81] Rusk admitted responsibility for it. [82] Even more remarkable, if no international conspiracy existed, then why did a "red alert" ordered on the day of the assassination stay in effect for seven days? [83]

In the first hours after the assassination, Rusk characterized it as perhaps ". . . the prelude to some sort of global Pearl Harbor . . . ," while Johnson raised the possibility it ". . . was part of a communist conspiracy or a plot against our system." After the scapegoat had been secured, national fears and worldwide alarm were eased by denying the involvement of a foreign power, thereby promoting the murder as the work of a "loner." In sum, first, the FBI was told to ignore Oswald. Then, the assassination was attributed to a worldwide communist plot to divert attention. Finally, the entire notion was quashed by those who spread the story—at a time when very little was known about what had occurred in Dallas.

Scenting the Trail

The Warren Commission went into emergency session on Jan. 22, 1964, on information Oswald was an undercover FBI agent. [84] Such an allegation put the FBI on the defensive, forcing it to spend considerable time discrediting this charge. [85]

The source of the story was Lane Bertram, a Secret Service agent, [86] who claimed to have obtained the information from a Houston reporter. [87] The reporter denied (1) he was interviewed by the Secret Service and (2) the validity of the story. [88]

Bertram may also have tried to get an attorney to defend Oswald. The lawyer was Dean A. Andrews, Jr., of New Orleans, who had done some work for the Secret Service in the past. [89] The agent in charge of the New Orleans field office noted Andrews was "well known to this office." [90] Andrews said a Clay Bertrand had referred clients to him. [91] Oswald saw

Andrews in the summer of 1963 on various legal problems. [92] On one occasion, Bertrand, who Andrews originally described as a person in his early 20s, accompanied Oswald to Andrews' office. [93]

Andrews testified to the Commission Bertrand phoned on Nov. 23, 1963, and asked him to defend Oswald. [94] Andrews' secretary confirmed Bertrand had hired him. [95]

The possibility exists that Secret Service agent Lane Bertram and Andrews' Clay Bertrand are the same person. Andrews' position, however, is unclear.

He initially told the FBI that on Nov. 22 or 23, 1963, "a person who said his name was Clay Bertrand" asked him to defend Oswald. [96] Then, two days later, he was unable to recall any information to identify Bertrand. [97] On Dec. 3, 1963, Andrews told the FBI the call he received was ". . . a figment of his imagination." [98] Andrews later testified before a trial in February 1969 not only was Bertrand a false name, but also he had never received any call from Bertrand. [99] Andrews was convicted of perjury in 1967. [100]

The FBI did attempt to investigate Clay Bertrand's background. On Dec. 5, 1963, it asked the New Orleans Retailers' Credit Bureau, Inc. to ". . . locate any record identifiable with CLAY BERTRAND or BERTRAM." [101] According to the record, none was found. The Secret Service requested to be notified if the FBI developed anything about Bertrand.[102]

Lane Bertram, Special Agent in charge at the Houston office of the Secret Service, [103] may have been a contact for Oswald.

Oswald left New Orleans in late September 1963, the same day the White House officially announced the President's trip to Dallas. [104] He took a bus to Houston, Texas [105]. Oswald told his wife, Marina, and a friend, Ruth Paine, he was going ". . . to a city where one of his friends was living . . ." [106] Mrs. Paine said Oswald told her he was going to Houston and perhaps also to Philadelphia. [107] President Kennedy rode in a motorcade in Philadelphia on Oct. 30, 1963, [108] and in Houston on Nov. 21, 1963. [109]

On Sept. 26, 1963, Oswald left Houston for Mexico. [110] There he tried unsuccessfully to obtain passports to both Russia and Cuba. [111] If Oswald had these passports in his possession after the assassination, then it would have enhanced the cover story. It would have appeared he was planning to escape to a communist country after killing the President. Lyndon Johnson remarked at Parkland Hospital, immediately after the assassination, "I don't know if this was part of a communist conspiracy or a plot against our system." [112] Dean Rusk talked with Washington, D.C., officials about a global Pearl Harbor. [113] These statements followed the cover story, referring to a plot whose existence was not suggested by actual events.

Secret Service Translation

The Secret Service had to keep both Oswald and his wife, Marina, from direct contact with the FBI. The Secret Service probably told Oswald the FBI would abuse not only him, but also Marina. Consequently, Oswald took a hostile attitude toward the FBI in his first meeting with them after the assassination.

For example, when FBI agents interviewed Oswald on Nov. 22, 1963, at 3:15 p.m., he ". . . adopted a violent attitude toward . . . both agents and made many uncomplimentary remarks about the FBI." [114] Oswald ". . . became very upset and arrogant with Agent Hosty when he questioned him and accused him of accosting his wife two different times. When Agent Hosty attempted to talk to this man, he [Oswald] would hit his fist on the desk." [115] Hosty said Oswald told him, "I am going to fix you FBI." [116]

The Secret Service had to control Marina Oswald so any information she had about her husband would go though them first. She was placed in their "protective custody." [117]

In the late afternoon of Nov. 24, 1963, the Secret Service started its interview with Marina Oswald. [118] Oswald's brother Robert was present and noted the activities of two Secret Service agents: "Agent Charlie Kunkel was the interviewer. Mike Howard controlled the tape recorder for a while and then I believe they found it did not need any further adjustment." [119]

The document of the interview is not a verbatim transcript. [120] It only records the question and the interpreter's paraphrase of her answer; some of her replies are merely summarized. An honest record of the interview would have included a full transcript of the Russian reply and its English translation. Without this, answers are easily shaded and altered.

Furthermore, Robert Oswald's impression was the Secret Service ". . . did not want the FBI aware of the tape recording at this time." [121] On Nov. 27, 1963, the FBI interviewed Marina. [122] They were furnished with a Secret Service interpreter, who Chief Rowley ordered flown to Dallas from the Los Angeles field office of the Secret Service. [123]

The flow of information from Marina was filtered through the Secret Service and then to the FBI. According to Robert Oswald, the interview went from the FBI to the interpreter who questioned Marina in Russian. Marina answered in Russian and then the interpreter replied in English for the FBI. [124] The Secret Service interpreter later translated Marina's answers when she appeared before the Commission on Feb. 2, 1964. [125]

Secret Service agents Howard and Kunkel made certain claims to gain the confidence of the Oswald family. When Howard interviewed Robert Oswald on Nov. 23, 1963, he asserted personal details of the family would be of special interest to Mrs. Kennedy. Robert thought this meant Howard was close to Mrs. Kennedy. [126]

Also on Nov. 23, Kunkel told Oswald's mother, Marguerite, he was sure Oswald had killed the President. Marguerite objected. Howard replied Kunkel was upset because he had guarded Mrs. Kennedy. [127] Neither Howard nor Kunkel ever guarded any member of the Kennedy family. They were assigned to the Dallas/Fort Worth area, not Washington, D.C.

Howard was the source of a news story of Feb. 10, 1964—widely quoted in the media—that a witness who could identify Oswald as the assassin was being held in protective custody by Dallas police. Such a story at this date would be certain to influence witnesses in their testimony before the Warren Commission. It was later learned Howard was Lyndon Johnson's closest agent. [128]

The reporter, contacted by the FBI, at first refused to divulge his source. [129] Four months later, when the FBI re-interviewed him, he named Michael Howard as his source. [130] The FBI interviewed Howard, who denied the remarks attributed to him. [131] The next day, the reporter signed a statement re-affirming the accuracy of his original story. [132]

Marguerite came to be "deathly afraid" of both Kunkel and Howard. On May 12, 1964, she told the FBI in Fort Worth she not only refused to allow Kunkel in her home, but also did not want anything further to do with them. [133] Marguerite stated, "I have had documents stolen from me. I have had newspaper clippings stolen from my hand by the Secret Service." [134] For her, ". . . I thought that we have a plot in our own government and that there is a high official involved. And I am thinking that probably these Secret Service men are part of it." [135]

The Irving Parcel

Oswald kept notebooks and manuscripts of his experiences, [136] and shortly before Nov. 22, he took a precautionary step to prevent their confiscation. On Dec. 4, 1963, a brown paper parcel was found in the dead letter section of the Irving, Tex., Post Office. [137] It had the handwritten address:

Lee Oswald
601 West Nassaus St.
Dallas, Texas
Irving, Texas

The word "Dallas" was scratched through with pencil and "Irving, Texas" written beneath. [138] The FBI was informed about it eight days after its discovery. [139]

An FBI agent examined the parcel and reported it ". . . was partially opened at the time of discovery [Dec. 4, 1963]." It only contained a brown paper bag, ". . . open at both ends." The address was nonexistent, the parcel lacked postage. [140]

The FBI began an investigation to determine the contents of the parcel.[141] The results of its investigation are unknown. The Warren Report neither

mentioned the parcel nor dealt with its implications. A comparison of the FBI lab photograph of this empty parcel with samples of Oswald's handwriting (Fig. 7-9) indicates Oswald addressed it to himself.

Dallas police found the following item during a search of Ruth Paine's home on Nov. 23, 1963: "1 [one] notice of attempt to deliver mail, card dated November 20, 1963, to Mr. Lee Oswald, 2515 West 5th, Irving, Texas—a parcel to be picked up." [142] Apparently, a postman had tried to deliver a parcel. Finding no one home, he did not leave it because postage was due.

The Postal Inspection Service determined on Nov. 25, 1963, a postage-due parcel for Oswald was in the Irving Post Office ". . . and was delivered about November 20 or 21." [143] The parcel referred to by the Dallas police and by the Postal Inspection Service may have been the same one.

Mailing a parcel to your self is a method to authenticate time and location of mail; it has been used to copyright an idea or an invention. It is also a way to keep important papers from hostile hands for a short period of time.

A Dallas Postal Inspector said the parcel ". . . had been determined to be a newspaper or magazine, other identity unknown." [144] In other words, it was an appropriate size for a notebook or manuscript.

To protect his papers, Oswald mailed them to himself at a nonexistent address. He knew that later, with proper identification, he could retrieve them from the post office. Because the attempted delivery was on Nov. 20, and the parcel lacked a postmark from another city, it is likely Oswald mailed it on Nov. 19. On that day, the Dallas newspapers first announced the precise route of the President's motorcade. [145]

At that point, Oswald may have noted the parade would pass in front of where he worked. He might have recalled he had been instructed to look for work up and down the parade route. The map he used to look for work was marked according to the parade route. He had been told to order guns through the mail as part of a gun control investigation. But

now, what if someone wanted to involve him in some crazy threat against the President?

Oswald wrapped up his papers and mailed them. If anything happened to him, then he could always retrieve the parcel and clear himself.

The mail took a different turn. On the evening of the 19th or the morning of the 20th, a postal clerk noted the nonexistent "Nassaus St." Instead of filing the parcel in the dead-letter section, he checked change-of-address forms. He found a card, dated Sept. 24, 1963, instructing all mail for Oswald to be sent to 2515 West Fifth St., Irving, Tex. The clerk crossed out "Dallas," wrote in "Irving, Texas," below, and sent the parcel to the Irving substation, where it arrived early on Nov. 20. That morning, the postman tried to deliver it to Ruth Paine's house. No one was home (Ruth Paine, Marina Oswald and her children were at the dental clinic.[146])

After Oswald returned from work on Nov. 20, Ruth Paine called him at his Beckley Street room in Dallas and told him of the parcel. [147] This may have puzzled him. He would have assumed the parcel to be in the dead-letter section of the Terminal Annex, just across the plaza from where he worked. Realizing it was subject to delivery to the Paine house, he may have decided to go to Irving at the first opportunity to get the notice.

Although Oswald normally visited his wife on Friday evening, he got a ride from a co-worker to Irving the next evening, Thursday, Nov. 21. Arriving at 5:30 p.m., he located the postal notice and put it with his belongings at the Paine house. When the time was right, he could go to the Irving Post Office for his parcel.

After Dallas police found the notice on Nov. 23, the Secret Service probably went to the Irving Post Office on the 23rd or 24th, opened the parcel, removed the contents and returned it to the dead-letter section. With Oswald's papers in the possession of the Secret Service, Oswald was the only problem for the agency.

At this point, the Secret Service may have assured Oswald of their belief in his innocence. If he would cooperate with them, then they would help clear up this unfortunate affair. For example, Inspector Kelley of the

Secret Service questioned Oswald on Nov. 24. Kelley ". . . approached Oswald then and, out of the hearing of the others except perhaps one of Captain Fritz's men, said that as a Secret Service agent . . . we were therefore very anxious to talk with him to make certain that the correct story was developing as it related to the assassination." [148]

The Secret Service was spared the difficulties of having to strike a deal with Oswald. Fifteen minutes after the questioning ended, Oswald, while surrounded by more than 70 police guards and Secret Service agents, was shot to death.

Lyndon Johnson's response was to telephone Parkland Hospital and demand a "deathbed confession" from Oswald in the operating room. [149]

The man who shot Oswald, Jack Ruby, happened to be in debt to the parent agency of the Secret Service, the Treasury Department. He owed ". . . a tax indebtedness of approximately $44,000.00." [150]

The Scapegoat's Bullet

During the autopsy on the President, ". . . no complete bullet of any size could be located in the . . . body . . . and . . . the individuals performing the autopsy were at a loss to explain why they could find no bullets." [151] Earlier in the day, Parkland doctors ". . . were disconcerted by not finding

Fig. 7-9. Empty package found in Irving Post Office addressed to Oswald at a nonexistent address.

Examples of Oswald's signature.

a missile at all [in] . . . our patient [Connally] with three discernible wounds . . ." [152]

Sometime around 9 p.m. on Nov 22, Navy personnel told Kellerman to call Rowley, Chief of the Secret Service. [153] Rowley told him that at 7:30 p.m., Secret Service headquarters received a bullet [154] from agent Richard Johnsen. [155]

An FBI agent, Elmer L. Todd, received the bullet at 8:50 p.m., on Nov. 22, from Rowley, and took it directly to Robert A. Frazier at the FBI laboratory. [156] Both Todd and Frazier etched their initials on the nose of the bullet for identification. [157] Rowley and Johnsen failed to do so, breaking the chain-of-custody. Most likely Rowley and Johnsen knew this bullet was planted and did not want to initial tainted evidence in case the plot was exposed. They were keeping their options open so they could deny they passed the bullet if the FBI discovered it was a plant.

Around 1 p.m., on Nov. 22, 1963, the Senior Engineer at Parkland Hospital, Darrell C. Tomlinson, took an empty stretcher from the emergency elevator on the ground floor. [158] At the time, he noticed a second stretcher nearby. [159] Both stretchers were not associated with the President; his body wasn't removed from a stretcher until 40 minutes later. [160]

While Connally's stretcher was being pushed onto the elevator, nothing indicates it was the same one Tomlinson thought had held the bullet. [161] Other people could have moved Connally's stretcher from the elevator because Tomlinson made calls on other floors. [162] Only after several trips to other floors did Tomlinson spot the bullet on the second stretcher. [163]

The second stretcher was close to the men's room. A doctor [164] pushed the stretcher away from the wall to enter the room. When he came out, he left the stretcher where it was. Tomlinson then pushed it against the wall and a bullet rolled out. [165]

The men's room was close to the minor medicine section of the emergency area, [166] where Lyndon Johnson and his Secret Service agents were located. [167] They left the area around 1:30 p.m., [168] and, about the same time, the bullet was found. [169] Secret Service agents who had free access to Parkland Hospital, were aware of the problems, and knew another bullet had to replace one of theirs.

Tomlinson showed the bullet to O.P. Wright, chief security officer at Parkland. [170] Wright carried the bullet around in his pocket for 30 to 40 minutes. [171] He said he first tried to give it to an FBI agent who was not interested. [172] He then gave it to Secret Service agent Johnsen, [173] who was guarding the main door into the emergency area. [174] Johnsen ". . . put it in his left hand coat pocket . . ." without marking it with his initials. [175] Rowley received it from Johnsen. [176]

During the flight from Dallas, Johnsen rode at the rear of the Presidential plane with the casket at the request of Lyndon Johnson. [177] He apparently failed to inform anyone he had the bullet. Later, in June 1964, when the FBI showed the bullet to Johnsen, Rowley, Wright, and Tomlinson, they were unable to identify it. [178]

The bullet itself was in excellent condition. It was clean when the FBI lab received it. [179]

The bullet appeared to be undamaged. [180] This bullet, nevertheless, was credited with wounding the President in the back and neck, and causing all of Connally's wounds. [181] More importantly, this bullet was identified by the FBI lab as having been fired from the rifle found in the depository. [182] The rifle was traced to the scapegoat. [183] A crucial link in the chain-of-custody was formed when this bullet was planted on the stretcher.

The FBI lab in Washington, D.C., which received the rifle from Dallas on Nov. 22, found prints on it ". . . too fragmentary and indistinct to be of any value for identification purposes [or] . . . for comparison purposes." [184] On Nov. 23, the FBI said it was returning the rifle to the Dallas Police Dept. [185]

Where the FBI failed, three days later in Dallas, Lt. Carl Day of the Dallas Police Dept. was able to successfully produce ". . . a fingerprint or palm print . . ." from the rifle. [186] Not only was the police laboratory located at Parkland Hospital, but also the morgue—where Oswald's body conveniently lay. [187]

The San Antonio Scapegoat

The possibility exists Oswald's function as the scapegoat in Dallas would have been preempted by someone else had the assassination occurred in San Antonio, where the President visited in the early afternoon of Nov. 21.

Three days after the assassination, a rifle similar to that of the Dallas scapegoat was found in a hotel room in Terre Haute, Ind., and was traced to a member of the Young Communist League of San Antonio. Later, the rifle was presented to the Secret Service. [188]

The person in question, Harry L. Power, registered at the Terre Haute House hotel on Nov. 25, 1963, using a false San Antonio address. [189] He checked out in the afternoon of the next day. [190]

Reaction to discovery of the rifle on Nov. 26, 1963, was immediate. The Governor "... imposed strict security measures... on his Indiana statehouse office and the executive residence." [191] Later, James J. Rowley, chief of the Secret Service, told the Terre Haute police chief the Secret Service had a file on Power. [192] The police chief notified the Warren Commission, [193] but the Commission replied it was not interested. [194]

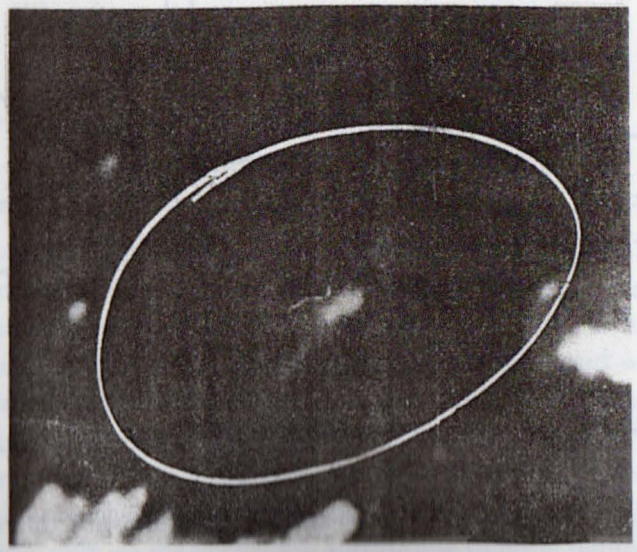
The Rebuilt Limousine

In June 1964, an Associated Press story announced, "The limousine in which President Kennedy was assassinated has been rebuilt . . ." [195] It was ". . . made 90% new for use by President Johnson . . ." [196]

Of chief importance was the windshield. Fig. 7-10 was made from a photograph taken at the time of the shooting (see also Fig. 3-9) [197] from the rear and shows the detail of the bullet scar. Fig. 7-11 [198] is a photograph taken in the White House garage, [199] from an angle in front of the car.

The mirrors in both drawings were made equal in size. Fig. 7-10 was reversed, and an overlay, Fig. 7-12, was made with Fig. 7-11. No control photos were available from the same angle. Note the difference in both size and location of the bullet scar.

As mentioned earlier, witnesses at Parkland Hospital saw a hole in the front windshield. Agents Greer and Kellerman both testified that during the drive from Dealey Plaza to Parkland Hospital they failed to notice this damage to the windshield, which was directly in front (Fig. 7-10) of the driver.



Blow-up of windshield damage in Dallas from Altgens' photo No. 7.

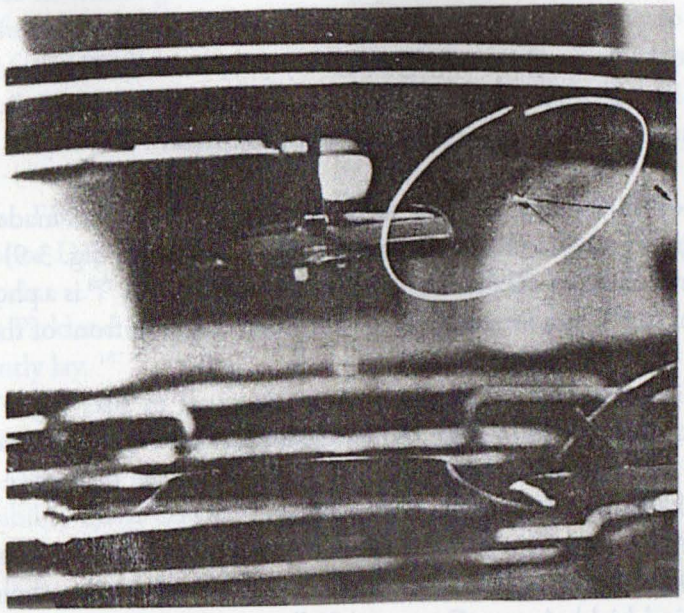


Fig. 7-11. Windshield at White House showing scar (CE 350).

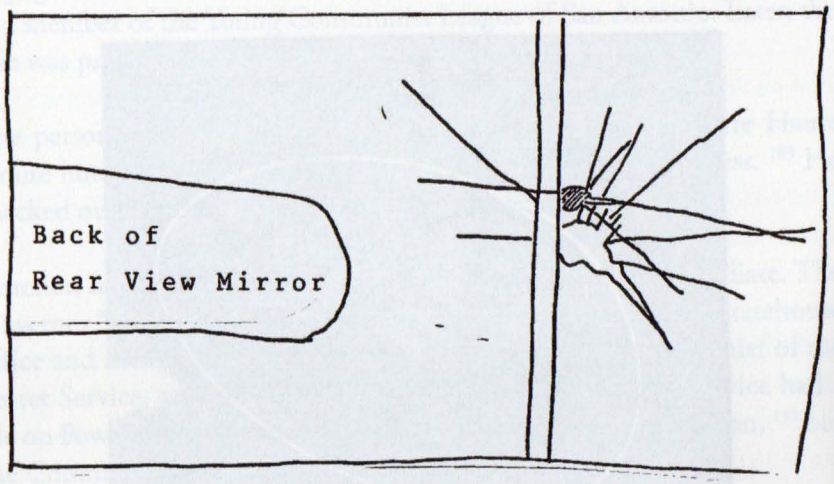


Fig. 7-12. Overlay of Fig. 7-10 and Fig. 7-11 showing differences in size and in location.

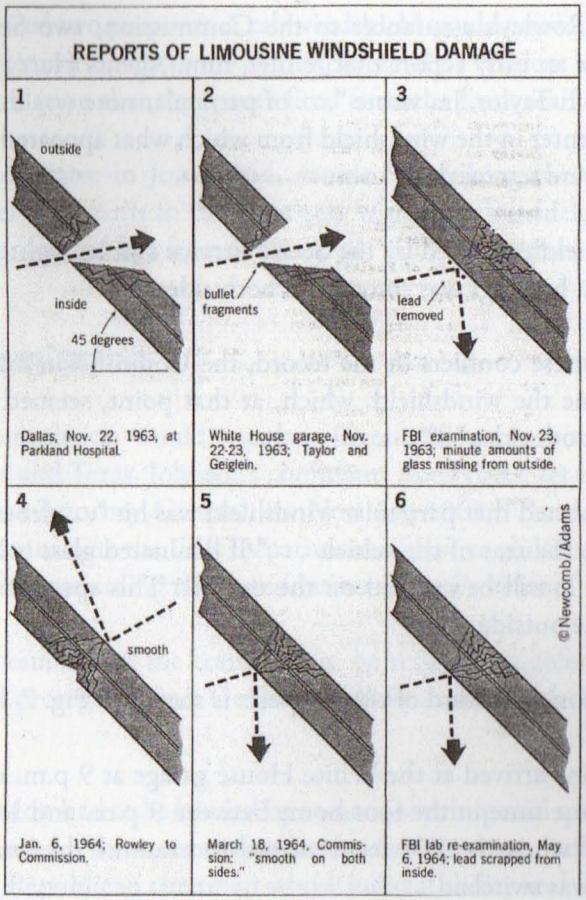


Fig. 7-13. Diagrammatic record of windshield appearance, showing series of differences of the driver, Greer. [200]

Chief Rowley tried to reassure the Commission in January 1964 about the windshield. He said the Secret Service agent who took the limousine from Parkland to Love Field ". . . noticed some slight damage to the windshield . . . the area around the damage, was splattered with debris." And when that agent arrived in Washington, D.C., ". . . and at the White House garage, the 'spidering' [of the glass] had increased and the damage was more noticeable." In addition, Rowley said two other Secret Service agents also saw the damage to the windshield at the garage. They found the damage only on the inside; the outside was smooth, without a hole or a crack. [201]

In spite of Rowley's assurances to the Commission, two Secret Service agents wrote an early report that refuted him. Agents Harry W. Geglein and Charles F. Taylor, Jr., wrote ". . . of particular note was the small hole just left of center in the windshield from which what appeared to be bullet fragments were removed." [202]

The windshield produced by the Secret Service and brought twice to the Commission hearings was smooth on both sides. [203]

Because of these conflicts in the record, the Commission asked the FBI to re-examine the windshield, which, at that point, seemed ". . . to be smooth on both sides." [204]

The FBI reported that particular windshield was hit ". . . from the inside; that is, from the rear of the vehicle . . ." If laminated glass is hit from the inside, then it will be cracked on the outside. This specimen had small cracks on the outside. [205]

The diagrammatic record of these reports is shown in Fig. 7-13.

The limousine arrived at the White House garage at 9 p.m. on Nov. 22, 1963. At some time in the four hours between 9 p.m. and 1:05 a.m. the next day, [206] when the FBI team arrived to examine the limousine, the windshield was switched.

The Secret Service was forced to abandon their earlier claim that a cab windshield separated the passengers from the agents in the front seat. Detailed photographs of the motorcade show no cab windshield partitioned the limousine. Furthermore, any object striking the front windshield from behind would also perforate the cab windshield.

A syndicated story in January 1964 reported Secret Service and FBI agents said, "A windshield further separated the front seat of the Kennedy limousine from the rear compartment in which the President and Mrs. Kennedy were riding." [207]

This story served two purposes. A cab windshield would prevent Kellerman from moving immediately to the rear to protect the President and it would also still speculation that shots were fired from the front seat.

Mrs. Kennedy, later in June 1964, avoided describing the activities of the Secret Service agents in the front seat with the windshield story. The windshield prevented her from hearing, she said, "those poor men in the front." [208]

The Commission

A federal commission would supplant investigations proposed by both the Congress and Texas. Johnson's confidant, Abe Fortas, set it up. Fortas told the Texas Attorney General, on Nov. 26, 1963, ". . . he had been assigned to coordinate the FBI, Department of Justice and Texas Attorney General's efforts regarding the assassination of the President." [209]

After Fortas established the commission, he resigned as defense attorney for Johnson's protégé, Robert G. "Bobby" Baker, who was facing a Senate inquiry. [210]

The commission had to be headed by someone with special qualifications. Johnson believed, "the commission had to be bipartisan, and I felt that we needed a Republican chairman whose judicial ability and fairness were unquestioned." [211] He chose Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Warren initially declined because service by court members ". . . on Presidential commissions . . . does take them into the realm of politics or so perilously close to it that it is really a departure from the judicial process." [212]

Two hours after his refusal, Johnson called him to the White House. [213] He told Warren:

I remember somewhere seeing a picture of you in an army uniform when this country was . . . involved in war—where you went out and offered your life to save your country. Now your services are more necessary at

this moment than they were then to save this country . . . you must do this for your country so that we can resolve once and for all without any peradventure of a doubt what happened . . . [214]

Johnson then used the cover story of a global Pearl Harbor to sell Warren on the position. Johnson told Warren ". . . things were so bad that he thought it might even get us into a war and a nuclear war." He suggested Castro and Khrushchev could have been responsible for the assassination. He said Secretary of Defense McNamara told him ". . . a first strike in this country might cost us sixty million people." He added, ominously, "we don't know what this thing might bring forth."[215] Warren acceded.

But one very important witness was not called before the Warren Commission: Lyndon B. Johnson. According to Newsweek, "a list of questions for him [Johnson] was in fact prepared and submitted to Johnson's confidant, Abe Fortas. Fortas returned a veto of the idea." [216] Instead, both Johnson and his wife ". . . submitted unsworn statements." [217] An assistant Commission attorney David W. Belin, thought this was part of "a dangerous trend toward preferred treatment for high government officials"—an elitist concept. Belin reasoned, "if we could interrogate Mrs. Kennedy, whose husband had died before her eyes, there was no reason why President Johnson should not be examined in the same manner, as every other witnesses," because "there was some speculation from abroad, however outlandish, that he might have had some indirect connection with the Dallas tragedy. [218]

Oddly enough, according to Sen. Yarborough, ". . . many people 'round the White House didn't file their affidavits until . . . after that of mine—the 10th of July. They wanted to see what I was going to say before they filed theirs." [219] Yarborough said some people brought him something they wanted him to sign, swearing "this is all I know about the assassination." [220] He refused, and wrote his own affidavit. [221]

The Commission's work was non-investigative. Its purpose, according to Commissioner John J. McCloy, was to "show the world that America is not a banana republic, where a government can be changed by conspiracy." [222] McCloy believed, ". . . I don't think that we could recognize that any

door is closed to us, unless the President closes it to us, and in the search for the truth." [223]

The design of the Commission's work illustrated its conclusion was established at the outset. Of six areas, one dealt with the assassination, three with Oswald, and one with Oswald's killer. [224] Furthermore, there would be no independent investigation. Warren stated, ". . . we can rely upon the reports of the various agencies that have been engaged in investigating the matter . . ." [225] Ostensibly, this was to prevent duplication. [226] In addition, Warren did not want the Commission's testimony and evidence to be published. [227]

The Commission failed to uncover the source of the shots because it never examined the autopsy films. Instead, it resolved any conflicts by accepting the work of the military doctors and Secret Service agents who attended the autopsy. [228]

One assistant counsel of the Commission felt, ". . . it is indispensable that we obtain the photographs and X-rays of President Kennedy's autopsy . . ." [229] He stated, "the Commission should determine with certainty whether the shots came from the rear [his emphasis] . . . None of the doctors at Parkland Hospital in Dallas observed the President's back or the small hole in the lower portion of his head . . ." [230] He believed, ". . . there must be independent viewings of the films to verify testimony which has come only from government doctors." [231]

The Commission decided one doctor who was present at the autopsy and one member of the Commission should view the autopsy films ". . . only for verification purposes." [232] In practice, all of the autopsy doctors had to rely upon their memories, and one of the Commission's assistant counsel saw a questionable autopsy photograph shown to him by an inspector of the Secret Service.

A few members of the Commission seemed to be aware of what had happened. The sixth area of the Commission's work concerned measures to protect the President. [233] The Commission's General Counsel stated, "I will retain immediate responsibility for the area of security precautions."

[234] Warren felt Chapter Eight—"The Protection of the President"—". . . was perhaps the most important in the report." [235]

The importance of that chapter was also appreciated by the Secret Service. It wanted the right to review the Commission's recommendations prior to publication. Warren, however, ". . . felt that the Commission would itself have to determine what could properly be covered in its report, without being subject to veto by the agency involved, or by the President." [236] While on the Commission, Warren was ". . . guarded by Secret Service agents." [237]

The report, which appeared in September 1964, was critical of the Secret Service. It suggested ". . . assigning to a Cabinet-level committee . . . the responsibility to review and oversee the protective activities of the Secret Service . . ." [238] Such a committee ". . . should include the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General . . ." [239] If the proposal was followed, "the Commission believes that the recommended Cabinet-level committee will help to correct many of the major deficiencies of supervision disclosed by the Commission's investigation." [240]

The day the report came out, Lyndon Johnson appointed a panel ". . . to advise him on the execution of the recommendations of the Warren Commission." [241] Of particular concern was ". . . whether the Secret Service should continue in its present role as protector of the President." [242]

About two months later, the panel, chaired by Treasury Secretary Dillon, rejected the Commission's recommendation. [243] The New York Times reported: "President Johnson is reported to have agreed that the Secret Service should retain both its investigative and guarding functions. He is understood to have told Secretary Dillon . . . he was very pleased with the efficiency and smoothness of the present protective system as well as with plans for its expansion." [244]

Warren represented his clients well. They were, first, the new President, who had picked him to head the commission. The second was the integrity of the government. A scandal of this magnitude could not become public.

A threat to Warren's case came from the Kennedys. In February 1964, the Kennedy family picked writer William Manchester to write an account of the assassination.

Accordingly, Warren sought out Manchester and tried to commit him to the Commission's version at the outset. First, Warren asked Manchester not to begin his interviews in Texas until after the Commission had given its report to President Johnson. [245] In this way, the Commission could deal with questions of evidence and eyewitnesses first. No doubt Warren also asked him not to interview Secret Service agents until the Commission's study was done; [246] by then, they would have their stories down.

Oswald's widow, under constant Secret Service guard, refused to be interviewed by Manchester. [247] Lyndon Johnson at first agreed to be interviewed. Later, he rejected the idea and chose to answer written questions with written answers. [248] Warren failed, however, to commit Manchester to endorse the report. Warren invited him to read the first draft of it and "declare, as a friend of the family, that its findings were acceptable to the Kennedys, in every respect." [249] Manchester rejected the idea as improper. [250]

Warren was bothered Manchester's parallel investigation might be unsupervised. Warren therefore gave Manchester ". . . security clearance and a desk in the Commission's VFW Building offices . . ." [251] In exchange, Manchester said, ". . . I had immediate access to all testimony, documents, exhibits and depositions." [252] Some might have objected to giving government space to a private writer, working on a private manuscript. Perhaps to Warren, the advantages outweighed the disadvantages.

Such assistance to Manchester continued long after the Commission disbanded. Manchester was still researching when Edward Epstein's book, "Inquest," which raised some disturbing questions about the assassination, was published. But help arrived. In July 1966, Manchester wrote to Robert Kennedy: "With the help of Dr. Burkley and Howard Willens [assistant counsel for the Commission and liaison between it and the Justice Dept.], I think I've knocked out what, at first reading, appears to be the one strong point in Epstein's version." [253]

Although Warren limited his comments on the Commission,[254] a Johnson administration official quoted Warren as having said, "I was a District Attorney in California for 12 years, and I tried a number of cases. If I were still a District Attorney and the Oswald case came into my jurisdiction, given the same evidence I could have gotten a conviction in two days and never heard about the case again."[255]

Chapter Seven Endnotes:

1. James P. Hosty, Jr., "Testimony of James Patrick Hosty, Jr. [dated May 5, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 4, pp. 467-468. James P. Hosty, Jr., and James W. Bookhout, "Commission Exhibit No. 832, 'Copy of an FBI report of an interview with Lee Harvey Oswald, dated November 23, 1963," in Hearings, v. 17, p. 786.
2. Baker, op. cit., v. 3, p. 252.
3. Ibid., pp. 245-249, 250, 252.
4. Marrion L. Baker, "Commission Exhibit No. 3076. 'Statement to FBI dated September 23, 1964, by Marrion L. Baker, Dallas Police Department (CD 1527)'" in Hearings, v. 26, p. 679. Note: the phrase "drinking a coke" is crossed out in this handwritten note. The date is significant: Sept. 23, 1964. The Warren Report was submitted the next day to Lyndon Johnson.
5. Baker, op. cit., v. 3, p. 252.
6. Ibid. Truly, op. cit., v. 3, p. 225.
7. Mrs. Robert A. Reid, "Testimony of Mrs. Robert A. Reid [dated March 25, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 3, pp. 274-275.
8. Ibid., pp. 274, 279.
9. U.S. Congress Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency of the Senate Judiciary, Hearings to Study the Interstate Traffic in Mail-Order Firearms, 88th Congress, 2nd Session, 1963, p. 3596.
10. Report of the President's Commission, p. 119.
11. "Commission Exhibit No. 773. 'Photograph of a mail order for a rifle in the name "A. Hidell," and the envelope, in which the order was sent,'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 635.
    American Rifleman, February 1963, p. 65. The magazine advertised a 36-inch overall length, 5-1/2 pound rifle. The Warren Commission said the rifle found in the depository was 40.2 inches long and weighed 8 pounds (p. 81). This discrepancy went unresolved.
12. "Commission Exhibit No. 790. 'Photograph of the mail order for a revolver,'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 678.
13. William J. Waldman, "Testimony of William J. Waldman [dated May 21, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 7, p. 365.
    Heinz W. Michaelis, "Testimony of Heinz W. Michaelis [dated May 11, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 7, p. 378.
14. Ibid.
15. Holmes, op. cit., v. 7, p. 527.
16. U.S., Postal Manual, Section 846.53H, pp. 413, 414, 415.
17. Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, op. cit., pp. 3644, 3460, 3461
18. Ibid., p. 3466.
19. Commission Document No. 5, p. 391.
    Commission Document No. 7, p. 227.
20. John W. Fritz, "Commission Exhibit No. 2003. 'Interrogation of Lee Harvey Oswald,' within Dallas Police Department file on investigation of the assassination of the President (CD 81b, all pages)," in Hearings, v. 24, p. 268.
    James W. Bookhout, "Testimony of James W. Bookhout [dated April 8, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 7, p. 312.
21. "Commission Exhibit No. 2548. 'FBI report of investigation of Lee Harvey Oswald's activities for Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New Orleans, La. (CD 7, pp. 164-165),'" in Hearings, v. 25, p. 773.
    "Commission Exhibit No. 2895. 'FBI report dated November 26, 1963, of interview of Mrs. Marcelle Madden at New Orleans, La. (CD 75, pp. 388-389),'" in Hearings, v. 26, p. 348.
22. Report of the President's Commission, p. 436.
23. "Commission Exhibit No. 826. 'Copy of an FBI report by Special Agent Kaack, dated October 31, 1963,'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 760.
24. Dean A. Andrews, Jr., "Testimony of Dean Adams Andrews, Jr. [dated July 21, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 11, p. 328.
25. Carlos Bringuier, "Testimony of Carlos Bringuier [dated April 7-8, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 10, p. 49.

William K. Stuckey, "Testimony of William Kirk Stuckey [dated June 6, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 11, p. 163.
"Commission Exhibit No. 2548," op. cit., v. 25, p. 773.

26. Bringuier, op. cit., v. 10, p. 42.
Stuckey, op. cit., v. 11, pp. 171, 172.
"Commission Exhibit No. 826," op. cit., v. 17, p. 763.
Carlos Bringuier, "Bringuier Exhibit No. 3. 'Press release, dated August 21, 1963, signed by Dr. Carlos Bringuier and captioned "Secretary of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee a Marxist,"" in Hearings, v. 19, p. 175.
27. "Commission Exhibit No. 834. 'Letter from the FBI to the Commission, dated May 4, 1964, listing contents of FBI headquarters file concerning Lee Harvey Oswald up to the time of the assassination,'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 812.
28. Report of the President's Commission, p. 654.
29. Commission Document 102Z. Commission Document No. 206, p. 40. Dallas Police Dept., Exhibit No. 43.
30. "Commission Exhibit No. 1933. 'FBI report dated November 23, 1963, of interview of Adrian Alba at New Orleans, La. (CD 75, pp. 264-266),'" in Hearings, v. 23, p. 728.
31. "Commission Exhibit No. 3119. 'Secret Service report dated December 3, 1963, of investigation concerning Lee Harvey Oswald's activities in New Orleans, La. (CD 407, pp 1-24),'" in Hearings, v. 26, p. 764.
32. Adrian T. Alba, "Testimony of Adrian Thomas Alba [dated April 6, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 10, p. 220.
33. "Commission Exhibit No. 3119," op. cit., v. 26, p. 764.
34. "Commission Exhibit No. 1933," op. cit., v. 23, p. 728. Commission Document No. 75, p. 263.
35. Commission Document No. 5, p. 160.
36. Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, op. cit., pp. 3410-3432.
37. Ibid., p. 3686.
38. Ibid., pp. 3688, 3689.
39. Ibid., p. 3688.
40. Ibid., p. 3642.
41. Report of the President's Commission, p. 434.
42. Ibid., p. 435.

43. Ibid., p. 438.
44. Hosty, op. cit., v. 4, p. 461.
45. Jesse E. Curry, JFK Assassination File, pp. 46, 47.
46. Sims Exhibit A. "Copy of an undated statement made by Richard M. Sims and E.L. Boyd concerning the events surrounding the assassination," in Hearings, v. 21, p. 512.
47. Kimbrough, Fitch, and Ferrell, op. cit., p. 130.
48. "Commission Exhibit No. 2694. 'Report of investigation of possible target practice by Lee Harvey Oswald in Dallas, Tex. area (CD 778, pp. 5-23),'" in Hearings, v. 26, pp. 62-63.
The Warren Report avoided the entire issue by ignoring the availability of the ammunition in Dallas. It asserted: "The cartridge is readily available for purchase from mail-order houses, as well as a few gun shops; some 2 million rounds have been place on sale in the United States." (Report of the President's Commission, p. 555.)
49. Ibid.
50. Burt W. Griffin, "Memorandum to Mr. W. David Slawson," dated April 16, 1964.
51. Commission Document No. 3, p. 3.
On Nov. 4, 1963, the Secret Service White House detail was informed of the President's planned trip to Dallas.
52. According to Capt. John W. Fritz of the Dallas Police Dept., "At 9:30 on the morning of November 24, I asked that Oswald be brought to the office. At that time, I showed him a map of the City of Dallas which had been recovered in the search of his room on North Beckley. This map had some markings on it, one of which was about where the President was shot." (John W. Fritz, "Commission Exhibit No. 2003. 'Interrogation of Lee Harvey Oswald,' within Dallas Police Department file on investigation of the assassination of the President (CD 81b, all pages)," in Hearings, v. 24, p. 269.
Walter E. Potts, "Testimony of Walter Eugene Potts [dated April 3, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 7, p. 198.
_____, "Commission Exhibit No. 2003. 'Report on officer's duties in regards to the President's murder,' within Dallas Police Department file on investigation of the assassination of the President (CD 81b, all pages)," in Hearings, v. 24, p. 318.

_____, "Potts Exhibit A-1, 'Copy of the first page of a list of property taken from 1026 North Beckley Street on November 22, 1963,'" in Hearings, v. 21, p. 141.
Henry M. Moore, "Testimony of Henry M. Moore [dated April 3, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 7, p. 213.
Two days after the assassination, "The district attorney [Henry Wade], in discussing the map found in Oswald's apartment, said Xs marked various downtown locations." ("Commission Exhibit No. 2178. 'Marked Map Discovered Among Oswald's Effects,' the Dallas Times Herald, Monday, November 25, 1963, page A-31," in Hearings, v. 24, p. 850.)
In June 1964, Wade testified he learned of the Oswald map from Capt. Fritz: "I was told by Fritz that it had the parade route and it had an X where the assassination took place and it had an X out on Stemmons Freeway and an X at Inwood Road and Lemon [approximately 10 blocks from Love Field], is all I know, a circle or some mark there." Wade said he never saw the map. (Henry Wade, "Testimony of Henry Wade [dated June 8, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 5, p. 227.)

53. Thomas J. Kelley, "Commission Exhibit No. 2060. 'Secret Service report dated November 29, 1963, covering third interview with Oswald and circumstances immediately following his murder (CD 87, SS control no. 177, Exhibit A, pp. 1-4),'" in Hearings, v. 24, p. 479.
54. Ibid.
According to Fritz, Oswald ". . . said that the map had nothing to do with the President's shooting . . . He said the map had been used to locate buildings where he had gone to talk to people about employment." (Fritz, op. cit., v. 24, p. 269.)
55. "Commission Exhibit No. 1871. 'Secret Service report dated July 22, 1964, concerning locations of two other job opportunities of Lee Harvey Oswald (CD 1303, SS control no. 1702),'" in Hearings, v. 23, p.
646. Helen P. Cunningham, "Testimony of Mrs. Helen P. Cunningham [dated April 1, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 10, p. 132.
_____, "Commission Exhibit 1-A. 'Original of Cunningham Exhibit No. 1 [Copy of application form of the Texas Employment

Commission, as filled out by Lee Harvey Oswald],'" in Hearings, v. 19, p. 400.
Robert L. Adams, "Affidavit of Robert L. Adams [dated Aug. 4, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 11, p. 481.
Ruth H. Paine, "Testimony of Ruth Hyde Paine Resumed [dated March 21, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 9, p. 389.

56. Report of the President's Commission, p. 657.
William T. Coleman, Jr., and W. David Slawson, "Memorandum to Albert E. Jenner Jr., and Wesley J. Liebeler [dated March 12, 1964]."
57. This concept was first brought to the attention of the authors by David S. Lifton.
58. Robert I. Bouck, "Commission Exhibit No. 760. 'Two memorandums, both dated December 3, 1963, prepared by Special Agent Bouck of the Secret Service, concerning the activities of the Protective Research Section of the Secret Service,'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 530. Bouck was not only involved in this, but also received the President's clothing and the autopsy pictures.
59. Roy H. Kellerman, "Information Requested by the President's Commission," dated March 16, 1964.
60. "Commission Exhibit No. 1021. 'Letter from the Secret Service to the Commission, dated April 9, 1964, attaching answers to questions contained in the Commission letter of March 24, 1964,'" in Hearings, v. 18, p. 705.
61. Commission Document No. 7, p. 3.
62. "Commission Exhibit No. 1021," op. cit., v. 18, p. 708.
63. Hosty, op. cit., v. 4, p. 461.
64. Bruno, op. cit., p. 91 (PB).
65. This photographic analysis was first published in Probe, v. 1, no. 16, Dec. 1968, pp. 1 and 5; v. 2, no. 1, Jan. 1969, pp. 1 and 8.
J.W. Fritz, "Commission Exhibit No. 2003. 'Interrogation of Lee Harvey Oswald,' within Dallas Police Department file on investigation of the assassination of the President (CD 81b, all pages)," in Hearings, v. 24, p. 269.
Report of the President's Commission, p. 625.
Thomas J. Kelley, "Commission Exhibit No. 2061. 'Interviews with Lee Harvey Oswald on November 23, 1963,' within Secret Service reports of interviews with Lee Harvey Oswald on

November 23, 1963 (CD 87, SS control no. 338, four pages)," in Hearings, v. 24, p. 481.

66. Thomas J. Kelley, "Interviews with Lee Harvey Oswald on November 23, 1963," within "Kelley Exhibit A, Memoranda of interviews with Lee Harvey Oswald on November 23-24, 1963, as summarized by Inspector Thomas J. Kelley of the U.S. Secret Service," in Hearings, v. 20, p. 442.
67. CBS radio, Nov. 23, 1963, evening.
68. "Commission Exhibit No. 133 A-B. 'Photographs of Lee Harvey Oswald holding a rifle,'" in Hearings, v. 16, p. 510.
69. Frank Pizzo, "Pizzo Exhibit No. 453-C. 'Photograph of Lee Harvey Oswald taken November 22, 1963, at the Dallas City Police Station,'" in Hearings, v. 21, p. 140.
70. John A. Clemente, Letter to Fred Newcomb, dated May 22, 1969, after reviewing the authors' research on these photos.
71. Report of the President's Commission, pp. 125, 128.
72. Commission Document No. 487, "Letter of J. Edgar Hoover, dated March 12, 1964."
73. David B. Grant, "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. 'Statement of David B. Grant [dated Dec. 1, 1963],' within Letter . . ." in Hearings, v. 18, p. 788.
74. J. Edgar Hoover, "Testimony of J. Edgar Hoover [dated May 14, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 5, pp. 111, 104.
75. Ibid., p. 110.
76. Commission Document No. 75, p. 461.
    The State Dept. reportedly was destroying documents during the time the Warren Report was published and the 1964 Presidential election campaign was under way. William Miller, a New York Representative, ". . . called on the State Department today [Sept. 29] for a complete and immediate explanation of a reported order for the destruction of information on domestic security risks." (New York Times, Sept. 30, 1964, p. 21.)
    In early 1962, an agent from the U.S. Dept. of Immigration and Naturalization called on Oswald's brother, Robert. Robert said, "the gentleman advised me he assumed that Lee was employed by the [U.S.] Government in some capacity in Russia . . ." (Robert E. L. Oswald, "Testimony of Robert Edward Lee Oswald Resumed [dated Feb. 22, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 1, p. 429.

77. Report of the President's Commission, p. 770.
78. Manchester, op. cit., p. 485 (PB).
79. Four Days, p. 55.
80. Dean Rusk, "Testimony of the Hon. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State [dated June 10, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 5, p. 367.
81. Ibid.
    Two days after the assassination, Dallas Police Chief Curry refused to comment when asked by newsmen if others were involved. ("Commission Exhibit No. 2147, 'KRLD-TV reel 15, November 24, 1963, entitled, "Press conference of Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry, Police and Courts Building," in Hearings, v. 24, p. 771.)
82. Ibid., p. 368.
    In 1974, Rusk declared, "I personally am completely convinced that no foreign government was behind Oswald, because, we made the most intensive investigation at the time and found no basis for any such supposition." (William F. Buckley interview with Dean Rusk, "Firing Line," Jan. 27, 1974, Ch. 28, Los Angeles, Calif.)
    Apparently Rusk's "intensive investigation" was completed in one day, well before the questioning of Oswald had been completed or his background or associations investigated.
83. Hans Habe, "The Wounded Land," p. 302.
84. Gerald Ford, "Portrait of The Assassin," p. 15 (PB).
    Note: According to the stenographic firm hired by the Commission: ". . . reporter's notes confiscated by Commission . . ." for that date (Manager, Ward & Paul Shorthand Reporters, Letter to Account No. G-7883, dated March 10, 1964).
85. FBI Director Hoover testified before the Commission specifically on this point ("Testimony of J. Edgar Hoover [dated May 14, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 5, pp. 97-120). He also submitted an affidavit denying Oswald was an agent (Commission Exhibit No. 835, "Letter from the FBI to the Commission enclosing affidavit of J. Edgar Hoover, dated February 6, 1964," in Hearings, v. 17, pp. 814-18).
86. Commission Document No. 767.
87. Ibid.
88. Knebel, op. cit., Look, July 12, 1966, p. 69.
89. Interview with Dean A. Andrews, Jr.

90. Commission Document No. 87 (Secret Service Control no. 22), p. 2. Agent John Rice.
91. New Orleans States-Item, Feb. 25, 1969, p. 5.
92. Dean A. Andrews, Jr., "Testimony of Dean Adams Andrews, Jr. [dated July 21, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 11, p. 327.
"Commission Exhibit No. 3094. 'Secret Service report dated December 6, 1963, of interview with Dean Andrews, Jr., at New Orleans, La., and other inquiries (CD 87, SS control No. 467),'" in Hearings, v. 26, p. 704.
Note: Shortly after the assassination, Andrews said his ". . . office was rifled . . ." and records on Oswald were missing (v. 11, p. 331).
93. Commission Document No. 75, p. 305.
94. Andrews, op. cit., v. 11, pp. 332-333.
95. "Commission Exhibit No. 2901. 'FBI report dated December 6, 1963, of interview of Eva Springer at New Orleans, La. (CD 126, p. 36),'" in Hearings, v. 26, p. 357.
96. Commission Document No. 75, p. 305.
97. Ibid., p. 198.
98. Commission Document No. 126, p. 33.
99. New Orleans States-Item, Feb. 25, 1969, p. 5.
100. New York Times, Aug. 14, 1967, p. 15.
101. "Commission Exhibit No. 2899. 'FBI reports dated December 5, 1963, of interviews of Dr. J.D. Andrews and Mrs. Thelma Massarini at New Orleans, La (CD 126, pp. 26-28),'" in Hearings, v. 26, p. 356.
102. "Commission Exhibit No. 3094," op. cit., v. 26, p. 705.
103. Signature recorded "Special Agent in Charge," on documents from the Houston office of the Secret Service.
104. Time, Dec. 6, 1963, p. 33A.
105. Report of the President's Commission, p. 651.
106. "Commission Exhibit No. 1792. 'Secret Service report dated November 29, 1963, concerning tape-recorded interview of Marina Oswald conducted on November 26, 1963, translated by Peter Paul Gregory, interview with Marina Oswald witnessed only by Peter Gregory (CD 79, SS control No. 319, nine pages),'" in Hearings, v. 23, p. 409.

107. Ruth H. Paine, "Testimony of Ruth Hyde Paine resumed [dated March 19, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 3, p. 10.
108. Facts on File Annual, 1963, p. 390.
109. Report of the President's Commission, p. 42.
110. Ibid., p. 732.
111. Ibid., pp. 734-735.
112. Hugh Sidey, "A Very Personal Presidency," pp. 30-31.
113. Stewart Alsop, op. cit., The Saturday Evening Post, Feb. 15, 1964, p. 18.
114. Report of the President's Commission, p. 612.
115. Ibid., p. 601.
116. James P. Hosty, Jr., op. cit., v. 4, p. 466.
117. Lifton (ed.), Document Addendum, p. 58.
118. Commission Document No. 735, p. 361.
Peter P. Gregory was their interpreter (Ibid., p. 362). Lee and Marina Oswald previously knew Gregory (Commission Document No. 5, pp. 110; 290-291; Commission Document No. 205, p. 648).
119. Commission Document No. 735, p. 362.
120. Commission Document No. 87 (SS control no. 533).
121. Robert E.L. Oswald, "Testimony of Robert Edward Lee Oswald [dated Feb. 20, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 1, p. 411.
122. Ibid., p. 409.
123. Leon L. Gopadze, interpreter. "Commission Exhibit No. 1793. 'Secret Service report dated November 30, 1963, of interview of Marina Oswald at Dallas, Tex. (CD 87, SS control No. 204, 2 pages),'" in Hearings, v. 23, p. 410.
124. Robert Oswald, op. cit., v. 1, p. 411.
125. Marina Oswald, "Testimony of Mrs. Lee Harvey Oswald [dated Feb. 3, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 1, p. 1.
126. Robert Oswald, Lee, p. 149. Commission Document No. 75, p. 356.
127. Commission Document No. 1066, pp. 532, 533, 539.
Marguerite Oswald, "Testimony of Mrs. Marguerite Oswald Resumed [dated Feb. 10, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 1, p. 169.
128. Johnson's last words on Jan. 22, 1973, just before he died, were: "Send Mike Howard in here." (Newsweek, Feb. 5, 1973.) Time, Feb. 5, 1973, p. 29. Los Angeles Times, Jan. 23, 1973, p. 17.

129. Commission Document No. 735, p. 293.
130. "Commission Exhibit No. 2579. 'FBI reports dated June 2, 1964, of interviews of Thayer Waldo at Fort Worth, Tex., and Pat C. Howard at Hurst, Tex. (CD 1245, pp. 171-180),'" in Hearings, v. 25, p. 847.
131. "Commission Exhibit No. 2578. 'FBI report dated May 28, 1964, of interview of Secret Service Agent James M. Howard at Washington, D.C. (CD 1069A),'" in Hearings, v. 25, pp. 844-845. This agent is also known as Michael Howard or "Mike" Howard in various reports and testimony before the Warren Commission.
132. "Commission Exhibit No. 2579," op. cit., v. 25, pp. 846-847.
133. Commission Document No. 1066, pp. 532, 533.
134. Marguerite Oswald, "Testimony of Mrs. Marguerite Oswald [dated Feb. 10, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 1, p. 129.
135. Marguerite Oswald, op. cit., v. 1, p. 188.
136. Pauline V. Bates, "Testimony of Pauline Virginia Bates [dated March 25, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 8, pp. 330-332.
Bates Exhibit No. 1, "Newspaper clipping entitled 'The Oswald Mind,' published in the Fort Worth Press, November 29, 1963," in Hearings, v. 19, p. 149.
137. Commission Document No. 205, p. 148.
138. FBI Exhibit D-60.
139. Commission Document No. 205, loc. cit.
140. Ibid.
141. Commission Document No. 735, p. 255.
142. "Commission Exhibit No. 2003. 'Searches and Seizures,' within Dallas Police Department file on investigation of the assassination of the President (CD 81b, all pages)," in Hearings, v. 24, p. 348.
143. "Commission Exhibit No. 1799. 'Memorandum entitled "Assistance rendered by the Postal Inspection Service in investigation of President Kennedy's assassination" (CD 296, pp. 1-5),'" in Hearings, v. 23, p. 420.
144. Commission Document No. 735, p. 256.
145. Dallas Times Herald, Nov. 19, 1963, p. A-13. Dallas Morning News, Nov. 19, 1963, p. 1.
146. Commission Document No. 1546, pp. 102, 103.
147. Detroit Free Press, Dec. 7, 1963, p. 3.
148. Kelley, "Commission Exhibit No. 2060," op. cit., v. 24, p. 479.

149. Charles A. Crenshaw, JFK: Conspiracy of Silence, pp. 186-187.
150. Commission Document No. 87.
FBI agents reported, "At the time the shooting occurred it was reported that the man who shot Oswald had posed as a Secret Service agent to gain entrance. This report was later determined to be an erroneous report." (Commission Document No. 5, p. 409.)
151. Commission Document No. 7, p. 284.
152. Gregory, op. cit., v. 4, p. 125.
153. Kellerman, op. cit., v. 2, p. 99.
154. Richard E. Johnsen, "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. '[Statement dated Nov. 22, 1963, at 7:30 p.m.],' within Letter . . ." in Hearings, v. 18, p. 800.
155. Kellerman, loc. cit.
156. Commission Document No. 7, p. 288. Frazier, op. cit., v. 3, p. 428. "Commission Exhibit No. 2011. 'FBI report dated July 7, 1964, at Dallas, Tex., retracing of various items of physical evidence (CD 1258),'" in Hearings, v. 24, p. 412.
157. Ibid.
158. Darrell C. Tomlinson, "Testimony of Darrell C. Tomlinson [dated March 20, 1964]," in Hearings, v. 6, p. 129.
159. Ibid.
160. James J. Rowley, "Commission Exhibit No. 1026. 'Secret Service memorandum, dated March 19, 1964, re "Secret Service Report on the Assassination of President Kennedy," in Hearings, v. 18, p. 814.
161. Tomlinson, op. cit., v. 6, p. 126.
162. Ibid., pp. 131, 133.
163. Ibid., p. 133.
164. CBS, The Warren Report, part 2, June 26, 1967, p. 15.
165. Tomlinson, op. cit., p. 130.
166. "Charles J. Price Exhibit No. 6. 'Parkland Hospital—Emergency Area [floor plan],'" in Hearings, v. 21, p. 157. Darrell C. Tomlinson, "Tomlinson Exhibit No. 2. 'Sketch showing the positions of stretchers in the Parkland Hospital emergency room, drawn by Darrell C. Tomlinson,'" in Hearings, v. 21, p. 673. Manchester, op. cit., pp. [788, 789] (PB). Thompson, op. cit., p. 163.

167. Bertha L. Lozano, "Charles J. Price Exhibit No. 7. 'Activities of Bertha L. Lozano, R.N., Triage Nurse beginning at 12:00 noon, on November 22, 1963,'" in Hearings, v. 21, p. 213. Joe H. Shankles, "Charles J. Price Exhibit No. 29. 'Activities from 12:30 P.M. November 22 through November 25, 1963, dated Dec. 4, 1963,'" in Hearings, v. 21, p. 230. Manchester, op. cit., p. 206 (PB).
168. Manchester, op. cit., p. 761 (PB): 1:26 p.m. McIntyre, op. cit., v. 18, p. 747: 1:30 p.m. Roberts, op. cit., v. 18, p. 737: 1:35 p.m. Rowley, op. cit., v. 18, p. 813: 1:40 p.m.
169. CBS, The Warren Report, part 4, June 28, 1967, p. 7.
170. "Commission Exhibit No. 2011," loc. cit.
171. CBS, The Warren Report, part 4, June 28, 1967, p. 7.
172. Ibid.
173. "Commission Exhibit No. 2011," loc. cit.
174. CBS, op. cit., part 4, p. 7.
175. Ibid.
176. Kellerman, loc. cit.
177. Richard E. Johnsen, "Commission Exhibit No. 1024. 'Activities of Reporting Agent on November 22, 1963 [dated Nov. 30, 1963],' within Letter . . ." in Hearings, v. 18, p. 799.
Johnson told Youngblood, "I think it would be appropriate for you to keep some of your Secret Service men with the casket, Rufus; as a courtesy." (Youngblood, 20 Years, p. 129.)
178. "Commission Document No. 2011," loc. cit.
According to Josiah Thompson, Wright said the bullet found on the stretcher had a pointed tip, unlike the rounded nose of the Commission's bullet (Thompson, op. cit., pp. 175-176). This raises the possibility of a bullet switch.
179. Frazier, op. cit., v. 3, p. 428.
180. "Commission Exhibit No. 399. 'Bullet found on stretcher at Parkland Memorial Hospital, Dallas, Tex.,'" in Hearings, v. 17, p. 49.
181. Report of the President's Commission, p. 19.
182. Ibid., p. 79. Commission Document No. 5, p. 163.
183. Report of the President's Commission, p. 129.
Note: Two pieces of another bullet were "found" in the limousine. These, while distorted, nevertheless were identified by the FBI lab as having been fired from the depository rifle. (Ibid., p. 79; Commission Document No. 5, p. 163; Frazier, op. cit., v. 3, pp. 432, 435.)
184. Commission Document No. 5, p. 165.
185. Ibid.
186. Ibid., p. 167.
187. Commission Document No. 5, p. 147.
188. Commission Document No. 897, pp. 250, 261.
189. Terre Haute House hotel, "Registration card," dated Nov. 25, 1963.
190. Dallas Times Herald, April 3, 1967.
191. New York Times, Nov. 27, 1963, p. 17.
192. Interview of Frank Riddle by Larry Haapanen, Putnamville, Indiana, July 9, 1970.
193. Frank Riddle, Chief of Police, Terre Haute Police Department, Letter to Earl Warren, dated April 9, 1964.
194. Letter to Frank Riddle, from J. Lee Rankin, dated April 24, 1964.
195. New York Times, June 14, 1964, p. 49.
196. Los Angeles Times, Feb. 25, 1973, pt. 1-A, p. 2.
197. Altgens' photograph number seven, taken from the left rear, at the time of the assassination on Elm St.
198. "Commission Exhibit No. 350, 'Photograph of windshield of the Presidential limousine taken from outside the car, depicting a crack in the windshield on the driver's side,'" in Hearings, v. 16, p. 946. This exhibit was introduced during Kellerman's testimony on March 9, 1964 (Kellerman, op. cit., v. 2, pp. 85, 86). He claimed the photo represented the windshield as he first saw it on Nov. 27 (Ibid). FBI agent Frazier, who testified on May 13, 1964, said he took the photo on Nov. 23 (Frazier, op. cit., v. 5, p. 69).
199. Frazier, op. cit., v. 5, p. 69.
200. Greer, op. cit., v. 2, p. 123. Kellerman, op. cit., v. 2, p. 84.
201. Commission Document No. 80, p. 2. Jan. 6, 1964.
202. Commission Document No. 80 (Secret Service control no. 310, p. 3).
203. Lifton (ed.), Document Addendum, p. 269. Kellerman, op. cit., v. 2, p. 89.
204. J. Lee Rankin, Letter to J. Edgar Hoover, dated March 18, 1964.

205. Commission Document No. 897, p. 282. Frazier, op. cit., v. 5, p. 68.
206. "White House Log Book" in Commission Document No. 80. Chief Rowley noted in his January 1964 letter to the Commission his log began with the 1:05 a.m., November 23rd entry; the last prior entry was 3:40 p.m., Nov. 22, 1963. By Rowley's word, no activity occurred during those crucial hours in the White House garage.
207. John McMullan, "Kennedy Guards Action Is Probed," Phoenix Gazette, Jan. 2, 1964, p. 1; Louisville Courier-Journal, Jan. 3, 1964, p. 12.
In this story McMullan cited criticism of the Secret Service for its failure to respond during the shooting, quoting an unnamed agent. He also quoted a Washington columnist who wrote, "It seems impossible to conclude other than that the protection accorded to the Vice-President was of a higher order than that given to President Kennedy."
Three days after this story appeared, Johnson called Secret Service agent Youngblood and accused the Service of "bellyaching" to "one of Kennedy's top people . . . There's enough truth in it to see that somebody talked . . . you know I can't have disloyalty and I can't talk in front of your people and have them repeat it. I told Chief Rowley that, to call 'em in and take the resignations of anybody who wanted out, and I'll be glad to have his, yours or anybody else's. If they don't want to handle it we can get the FBI to do it . . . I'll get Hoover to send me over a couple of twenty-one-year-old accountants and they'll probably do as good a job!" (Youngblood, 20 Years, p. 148.)
208. Jacqueline Kennedy, op. cit., v. 5, p. 181.
209. Files of Evidence connected with the assassination of President Kennedy, 21 volumes, 1963-64, Washington, D.C., Library of Congress microfilm.
210. New York Times, Dec. 3, 1963, p. 36.
211. Johnson, The Vantage Point, op. cit., p. 26.
212. Abram Sacher, "Interview [dated May 3, 1972] with Former Chief Justice Earl Warren," Public Broadcasting System, Dec. 11, 1972, 8 p.m.
213. Ibid.

214. Walter Cronkite, "LBJ: Tragedy and Transition," CBS News, May 2, 1970.
215. Sacher, loc. cit.
A few weeks after the assassination, Johnson claimed his first thought immediately after the shot was ". . . the communists had done it . . ." (Halberstam, The Best and the Brightest, p. 298.)
Johnson's story was very effective. Hubert H. Humphrey was quoted as saying, "The time of the assassination [of President Kennedy] was a time when the peace of the world hung in the balance." Humphrey explained, "the assassination of President Kennedy undoubtedly offered some temptation to those who might want to exploit fear and uncertainty in America, but the strong leadership given by Lyndon Johnson when he assumed the Presidency I think was a stabilizing force." (Hubert H. Humphrey, Letter to Fred T. Newcomb, dated May 16, 1973.)
So Johnson continued to use it. Shortly before his death, ". . . Johnson expressed his belief that the assassination in Dallas had been part of a conspiracy. 'I never believed that Oswald acted alone, although I can accept that he pulled the trigger.' Johnson said that when he had taken office, he found that 'we had been operating a damned Murder Inc., in the Caribbean.' A year or so before Kennedy's death a CIA-backed assassination team had been picked up in Havana. Johnson speculated that Dallas had been retaliation for this thwarted attempt, although he couldn't prove it." (Leo Janos, "The Last Days of the President; LBJ in Retirement," The Atlantic, July 1973, p. 39.)
216. Newsweek, Aug. 15, 1966, p. 32.
217. Epstein, Inquest, op. cit., p. 215.
218. David W. Belin, Nov. 22, 1963: You Are The Jury, pp. 347-348.
According to an assistant Commission counsel, Warren told the staff, "The President stated that rumors of the most exaggerated kind were circulating in this country and overseas. Some rumors went as far as attributing the assassination to a faction within the Government wishing to see the Presidency assumed by President Johnson." (Melvin A. Eisenberg, Memorandum, dated Feb. 17, 1964.)
219. Geraldo Rivera, loc. cit.
220. Ibid.

221. Ibid.
222. Epstein, op. cit., p. 33.
223. President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy, Report of Proceedings, Jan. 27, 1964, p. 148.
224. J. Lee Rankin, General Counsel, "Memorandum to the staff," dated Jan. 13, 1964, p. 3.
225. Lifton (ed.), op. cit., pp. 3, 4.
226. Ibid.
227. Epstein, op. cit., p. 24.
228. The Secret Service falsely maintained, "the X-ray films were used for the briefing of the Warren Commission's staff on the autopsy procedure and results." (Statement of Jack Warner, United States Secret Service, dated June 21, 1966.)
229. Arlen Specter, Memorandum to J. Lee Rankin, dated April 30, 1964.
230. Ibid.
231. Ibid.
232. President's Commission, Executive Session, April 30, 1964, pp. 5880-5884.
233. Rankin, "Memorandum," dated Jan. 13, 1964, loc. cit.
234. Ibid.
235. Howard P. Willens, "Meeting with the Chairman of the Commission," dated Aug. 24, 1964.
236. Samuel A. Stern, "Memorandum of Conference," dated March 13, 1964, p. 1.
237. Weaver, op. cit., p. 330.
238. Report of the President's Commission, p. 456.
239. Ibid.
240. Ibid., p. 460.
241. New York Times, Sept. 28, 1964, p. 17.
242. Ibid., Sept. 30, 1964, pp. 1, 33.
243. Ibid., Nov. 22, 1964, p. 1.
244. Ibid., p. 76.
Johnson later told ". . . President-elect Nixon that the best friend he would have, 'when you come in and when you go out,' would be the Secret Service of the United States." (George Christian, The President Steps Down, p. 163.)

245. William Manchester, "Manchester's Own Story," Look, April 4, 1967, p. 65.
Manchester interviewed Secret Service agents Greer, Kellerman, Roberts, and Youngblood in November and December 1964—after the Commission had completed its report (Ibid., pp. 663, 664, 667, 669).
246. Manchester, op. cit., p. x (PB).
247. Ibid., p. xiii (PB).
248. Ibid.
249. Manchester, Look, April 4, 1967, p. 64.
250. Ibid.
251. Ibid.
252. Ibid.
253. John Cory, "The Manchester Papers," Esquire, June 1967, p. 88.
254. On June 30, 1966, Warren emphasized the report ". . . was the best we could do after ten months of intensive research . . ." (New York Times, July 1, 1966, p. 3.) On March 3, 1967, Warren ". . . insisted he was personally satisfied with the conclusions of the Warren Report. The Chief Justice said, however, that if any new evidence were uncovered it should be examined and 'law permitted to follow its course.'" He asserted, "Nobody is more interested in truth than myself. Nobody should be afraid of the truth." (New York Times, March 4, 1967, p. 25.)
255. New York Times, Nov. 22, 1966, p. 22.

Chapter Eight

RFK

How Robert Kennedy dealt with Johnson and his Secret Service

Around 2 p.m., on Nov. 22, 1963, Lyndon Johnson called the Attorney General from the Presidential plane. As the chief law enforcement officer in the country, Robert Kennedy had the power to intervene.

Johnson asserted the murder of the President ". . . might be part of a world-wide plot."[1]

Apparently as a pretext to plant the rumor, the new President asked the Attorney General to supply him with the oath of office. [2] Such a request was unnecessary because the Vice-President automatically has assumed the office upon the death of the President.[3] Furthermore, the oath was readily available in the executive article of the Constitution.

Another reason for calling Robert Kennedy might have been to determine his intentions and knowledge of the events at that crucial time. In a political execution, disguised as the work of a single individual, the plotters did not want investigative agencies on the scene. It would be unacceptable to have an unsolved crime when the Attorney General, the Justice Dept., and its investigative wing, the FBI, arrived.

Perhaps Johnson's request for the oath of office and the subsequent swearing-in ceremony aboard the plane may have been a ruse to buy time until certain matters began to settle in Dallas.

Johnson left Parkland Hospital at 1:26 p.m., arriving seven minutes later at Love Field where he boarded the Presidential plane. At 1:22 p.m., police found the scenario rifle and three shells in the depository; Oswald was seized by police at 1:50 p.m. The plane left Dallas at 2:47 p.m., nine minutes after Johnson took the oath. [4] Johnson claimed, upon advice of Robert F. Kennedy, he would not leave Dallas until he took the oath. Later, it was learned the Attorney General said nothing of the sort, but did ask himself why Johnson was in a rush and unable to wait. [5]

The greatest threat to the plot was the FBI, which the cabal anticipated. The first factor was the bias of the director. Hoover's known soft spot was his great concern over communism. From its file of malcontents, and potential assassins, the Protective Research Section of the Secret Service could choose those scapegoats designed to Hoover's

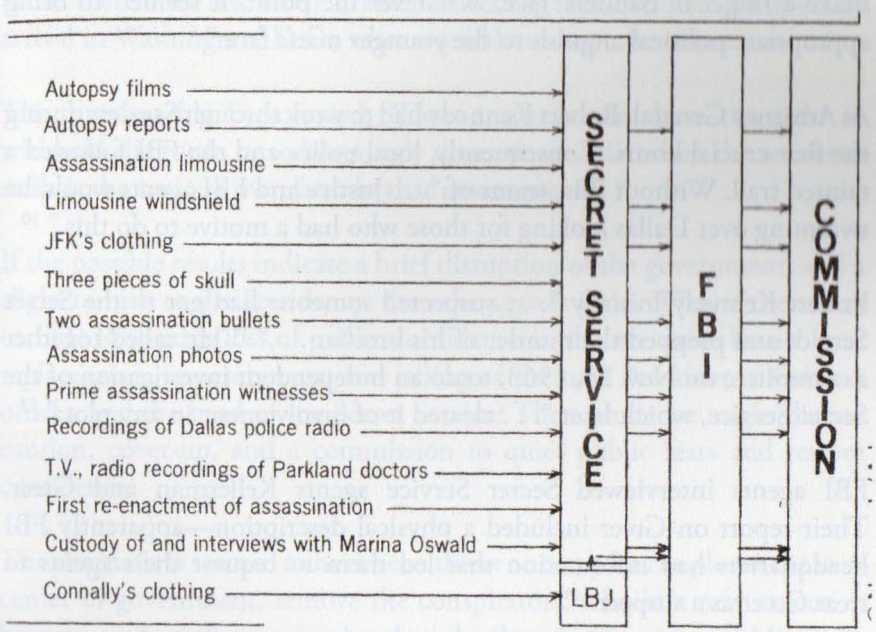


Fig. 8-1. Evidence flow chart.

preconceptions

The second element to neutralize was the procedures of the FBI. The FBI's standard approach would result in an intensive investigation.

Those agents of the Secret Service who were part of the plot withheld evidence from the FBI that exposed the actual assassins. The evidence flow chart, Fig. 8-1, diagrams this.

Within a few hours after Johnson's call, evidence was tailored to incriminate the scapegoat and to fit the well-known bias of the FBI Director.[6] A Johnson appointee, Barefoot Sanders, was U.S. Attorney in Texas. As the federal officer in charge on the scene during the assassination, he determined it was a local crime,[7] thereby keeping the FBI away.

On November 20th, Lyndon Johnson and Sanders met in back of Johnson's car for ". . . a highly animated discussion . . . ," while surrounded by Secret Service agents.[8] Furthermore, "two or three times Johnson leaned over to shake a finger in Sanders' face. Whatever the point, it seemed to bring appropriate political anguish to the younger man's face." [9]

As Attorney General, Robert Kennedy had to work through Sanders during the first crucial hours. Consequently, local police and the FBI followed a tainted trail. Without this, teams of ". . . Justice and FBI agents would be swarming over Dallas looking for those who had a motive to do this." [10]

Robert Kennedy initially ". . . suspected someone had got to the Secret Service and prepped the murder of his brother . . ." [11] He called together a committee on Nov. 23, 1963, to do an independent investigation of the Secret Service, which later ". . . cleared it of involvement in any plot." [12]

FBI agents interviewed Secret Service agents Kellerman and Greer. Their report on Greer included a physical description—apparently FBI headquarters had information that led them to request their agents to treat Greer as a suspect. [13]

The FBI agents' report on surgery to the President's body was probably enough to make Robert Kennedy suspicious. And the Kennedy family no

doubt later learned of this as demonstrated by Ethel Kennedy's concern over medical attention to Robert Kennedy after he was shot in Los Angeles on June 5, 1968. She carefully watched the ambulance attendant, demanded ". . . to know exactly what emergency procedures were being administered," and "when the ambulance arrived at Central Receiving Hospital Ethel stood beside Robert during the life saving attempts . . . asking him [the doctor] to explain each medical procedure being applied." [14]

To solve the crime was one matter. To arrest the plotters was another. Why did Robert Kennedy refuse to act? At the beginning of the investigation, it was surmised: To move against such formidable conspirators might start a disastrous chain of events. It could lead to American troops shooting at other American troops. It could lead to a direct take-over by a military clique. To avert such catastrophies, it might well be considered prudent to pretend utter ignorance, in the hope that the conspirators might be removed from power discretely, at a later date . . . [15]

At this point, he may have looked to how many troops were at his disposal rather than to the law. For if it came to arresting the new President upon his arrival in Washington, D.C., what would have been the consequences?

The question has been stated: "Does a government have the right to withhold the truth, or to knowingly disseminate a lie, when the matter at stake is the nation's own faith in that government?" [16]

If the possible results indicate a brief disruption of the government, and a slight tarnish to the Presidency, then the answer is no. What if the stakes include long-term loss of public confidence in the executive branch and replacement, impeachment, and jailing of the new President, a Cabinet officer, and the head of the Secret Service? Then prudence might dictate caution, cover-up, and a commission to quiet public fears and restore confidence.

The alternatives seemed to have been these: one, expose the plot at the very center of government, remove the conspirators, rebuild a new executive branch, and quell any revolts that developed. Or, two, avoid public disclosure, classify information showing governmental involvement, and sooth public fears.

Those in power—the new President and his group—followed the second alternative.

An Attempt

One of Robert Kennedy's efforts at control, before the assassination, included H.R. 4158, a bill first introduced in February 1963, and defeated in the Congress after the assassination. This was a move by the Justice Dept. and Robert Kennedy to change the procedures for selecting those who would guard the President.

Secret Service Chief Rowley reacted on June 18, 1964. The bill ". . . states that the Attorney General will appoint . . . officials for the protection of the President . . . And this is a feature," said Rowley, ". . . of the law we object to . . ." [17]

The Attorney General lost this skirmish with the new President and his Secret Service chief. "Protection" of the President remained with the Treasury Dept. Kennedy may also have had something to do with initiating a RAND Corp. study on Presidential protection. It was apparently started in January or February 1964 without the knowledge of either the Warren Commission or Rowley. At the time it was revealed, FBI Director Hoover commented, "the FBI will continue tracking down possible leads on the Kennedy assassination for 'many, many years.'" [18]

Perhaps the best Robert Kennedy could hope for was to bide his time, and collect what evidence he could. Later, when the country recovered and regained some sense of equilibrium, something could be done.

Robert Kennedy could have called a press conference, with the widow at his side, and become the most illustrious Warren Report critic. But, Johnson, as President, and armed with the power of immediate access to the media, secret police agencies, and information—real or fabricated—on indiscretions, would prevail.

But Johnson was worried. He ". . . believed that there were no accidents in politics, only conspiracies." [19] And he ". . . was convinced that Bobby Kennedy had bugged him all during the time he was Vice President."

[20] During the 1964 Democratic national convention, Johnson had Robert Kennedy bugged, fearing ". . . a possible movement to draft Kennedy as his running mate . . ." [21]

With Robert Kennedy's approval, in writing, that he knew ". . . of no credible evidence to support the allegations that the assassination of President Kennedy was caused by a domestic or foreign conspiracy," the Warren Commission could diminish public fears. The Commission drafted a letter for Kennedy to sign endorsing its findings. Kennedy apparently had no alternative. He dutifully signed this document, which was retyped for him without changing a word (see Appendix B). [22]

He endorsed the report at home and abroad. In Europe, where doubts were the greatest, he sold the official story, e.g., during a speech in Poland. [23]

While campaigning in California, at San Fernando Valley State College, he was badgered by students to "open the Archives." He replied, "If I became President, I would not reopen the Warren Report [sic] . . . Nobody is more interested than I in knowing who was responsible for the death of President Kennedy. I would not reopen the Warren Commission Report. I have seen everything that's in there. I stand by the Warren Commision report." [24]

That was similar to Johnson's response when asked by a reporter why the autopsy ". . . material is still not available to competent non-government investigators?" Johnson, in his reply, noted, "The late, beloved President's brother was Attorney General during the period the Warren Commission was studying this thing and I certainly would think he would have a very thorough interest in seeing that the truth was made evident. I believe he did have." [25]

Counter-Plot

Why did Robert Kennedy exhibit an apparent lack of interest in pursuing the murderers of his brother? On paper, the Secret Service contrived a plot to assassinate Fidel Castro, with Robert Kennedy implicated. This plot not only would keep the FBI busy, but also would serve as a warning to him.

On Dec. 14, 1963, Secret Service agent Lane Bertram, who contrived the story Oswald was an FBI agent, planted the story Oswald heard about a plot to assassinate Castro and President Kennedy and Vice-President Johnson knew of it. Oswald was "furious," and this was his motive for killing the President. [26]

Bertram sought to attribute his yarn to two newspapermen. When later interviewed, one ". . . said he had no information concerning the subject matter of Bertram's memorandum." [27] The name of the other newsman had been falsely used in planting the story Oswald was FBI informant "S172."[28] Bertram cautioned that another newsman not be told of this information. [29] That individual, it was learned, died shortly before the assassination. [30]

But, Oswald had attempted to get a visa to Cuba. [31] The suggestion of a Castro-Oswald link would be helpful to the plausibility of the story.

In February 1967, the District Attorney of New Orleans announced his investigation into a plot to murder the President. He said it originated with one to kill Castro. [32]

On March 2, 1967, President Johnson refused to comment on the New Orleans investigation. [33] The next day, however, columnist Jack Anderson declared, "President Johnson is sitting on a political H-bomb—an unconfirmed report that Sen. Robert Kennedy, D-N.Y., may have approved an assassination plot which then possibly backfired against his late brother." [34]

Aides to Sen. Robert Kennedy said he was "outraged" at the column because he stopped the plot. Kennedy said, "I found out that some people were going to try an attempt on Castro's life and I turned it off." [35]

The story was recycled many times as a useful distraction. For example, Johnson reportedly told several colleagues he believed the assassination was in retaliation for a CIA plot against Castro. [36] Shortly before Johnson died, he repeated the same tale to a reporter. [37] And, in April 1975, through a columnist and a former LBJ aide, it surfaced at the height of the Rockefeller Commission investigation of the CIA. [38]

Vietnam and LBJ

At the National Security Council meeting of Sept. 6, 1963, Roger Hilsman of the State Dept. observed, the first and fundamental question he [Robert Kennedy] felt, was what were we doing in Vietnam. As he understood it, we were there to help the people resisting a Communist take-over. The first question was whether a Communist take-over could be successfully resisted with any government. If it could not, now was the time to get out of Vietnam entirely, rather than waiting. [39]

Robert Kennedy continued, "Well, I think, personally, that we can't go on helping Diem if he refuses to change his policy and that the time has therefore come for we, the United States, must consider getting out totally, leaving, departing, no more aid, no more anything." [40]

In mid-1965, Robert Kennedy said, in a speech at the International Police Academy, "Response to revolutionary wars should be political in the beginning, political at the end, and political always." He added, in "a suppressed statement in his text . . . 'If, in response to revolutionary activity, a government can only promise its people ten years of napalm or heavy artillery, there will not be government for long.'" [41]

A year and a half later, Lyndon Johnson and Robert Kennedy had a confrontation at the White House about Vietnam. On Feb. 6, 1967, Johnson warned Kennedy about his position on Vietnam. "If you keep on talking like this," Johnson reportedly said, "you won't have a political future in this country within six months." [42] Johnson threatened Kennedy, through the press, that if he continued in his criticism of the war, "it would end your political career rapidly." [43]

The "Pentagon Papers" may have been Robert Kennedy's weapon to use to force Lyndon Johnson to terms. McNamara commissioned the study on June 17, 1967. [44] In June 1971, three years after Robert Kennedy's death, Johnson claimed to see ". . . 'the ghostly hand of Robert Kennedy' on the Pentagon Papers." [45] Dean Rusk, interviewed the next month, said Robert Kennedy ". . . 'probably had a hand in preparing the papers to make certain Mr. Johnson got "full credit" for botching up the war.'" [46]

In a news interview in late November 1967, Robert Kennedy charged ". . . the Johnson Administration had turned away from the Vietnam policy of President Kennedy and had forgotten the moral responsibilities at stake in the war." [47]

In March 1968, Robert Kennedy ". . . awaited word from President Johnson on whether he would appoint a blue-ribbon commission, as privately proposed a few days earlier by Sorenson, to study our Vietnam policies.

Kennedy had offered not to run for the Presidency if this commission were created. When Johnson rejected the idea, Kennedy began to move." [48] On March 16th, he announced his candidacy. As one reporter noted, ". . . a race by Kennedy was no joke to the President. It was a serious threat." [49]

Finis

Robert Kennedy gradually withdrew from public view in the months following his brother's death. He became morose, secretive, and, even at times, excluded his wife from his innermost circle. [50]

On Sept. 3, 1964, Kennedy resigned as Attorney General to run for the Senate from the state of New York. While talking about his forthcoming campaign, he reportedly said, "I don't know that it makes any difference what I do. Maybe we're all doomed anyway." [51]

In early 1968, "he told a friend, 'I can't be sitting around here calculating whether something I do is going to hurt my political situation in 1972. Who knows whether I'm going to be alive in 1972?'"[52]

"Early in the winter [1967]," Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., the historian, recalled, "I was having dinner with Jackie, and I told her how important I thought it was for Bobby to run. She listened very quietly. Then she said, 'I hope Bobby never becomes President of the United States.' I said, 'Why?' She said, 'If he becomes President, they'll do to him what they did to Jack.'" [53]

Chapter Eight Endnotes:

1. Manchester, op. cit., p. 308 (PB).
2. Ibid., pp. 308, 311 (PB).
3. O'Donnell and Powers, op. cit., p. 35.
4. Manchester, op. cit., p. 761 (PB).
5. O'Donnell and Powers with McCarthy, op. cit., pp. 38-39 (PB).
6. Furthermore, according to Richard M. Nixon, in some unexplained way, Johnson had Hoover under his "control." (Submission of Recorded Presidential Conversations to the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives by Richard Nixon, April 30, 1974, p. 803.)
7. Manchester, op. cit., p. 313 (PB).
8. The Dallas Morning News, Nov. 20, 1963, Sect. 4, p. 1.
9. Ibid.
10. Stephen White, op. cit., p. 131.
11. Warren Hinckle III, "The Mystery of the Black Books," Esquire, April 1973, p. 172.
12. Ibid.
13. Commission Document No. 7, pp. 9, 10, 11.
14. Robert B. Kaiser, RFK Must Die, pp. 37, 38, 43, 49.
15. The Minority of One, January 1964, p. 12.
16. Stephen White, op. cit., p. 111.
17. Rowley, op. cit., v. 5, p. 474.
    The proposal was not new. In 1949, a task force of the Hoover Commission recommended the protective functions of the Secret Service be transferred to the Dept. of Justice. (Report of the President's Commission, p. 514.)
18. Los Angeles Times, May 15, 1964, p. 6.
19. Time, Feb. 10, 1975, p. 16.
20. Ibid.
21. Los Angeles Times, Jan. 26, 1975, pt. 1, pp. 1, 11.
22. Howard P. Willens, "Proposed Exchange of Letters between the Commission and the Attorney General," dated June 4, 1964. Robert F. Kennedy, Letter to Earl Warren, dated Aug. 4, 1964.
23. FBI, "Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, 11-22-63, Dallas, Texas," dated July 7, 1964.
24. Los Angeles Times, March 25, 1968, pt. I, p. 3.

25. Public Papers: Johnson, 1966, op. cit., pp. 1321-1322.
26. Commission Document No. 705, p. 1.
27. Commission Document No. 320 (ss control 705).
28. Commission Document No. 767.
    Knebel, op. cit., Look, July 12, 1966, p. 69.
29. Commission Document No. 320.
30. Ibid.
31. Report of the President's Commission, pp. 299, 301.
32. New York Times, Feb. 21, 1967, p. 20.
33. Ibid., March 3, 1967, p. 14.
34. Column of March 3, 1967.
35. New York Times, March 10, 1975, pp. 1, 49.
36. Los Angeles Times, pt. 1, April 29, 1975, p. 19.
37. Leo Janos, loc. cit.
38. Walter Cronkite, CBS Evening News, April 25, 1975.
    Alexander Cockburn noted, "This whole business of who exactly conceived the idea of assassinating Castro in the early '60s is getting murkier by the day." He traced ". . . a bizarre sequence in which the evidence source for much of the material apropos the Kennedy's involvement suddenly backs into his own story." Further, ". . . most of the leads establishing the dominance of the White House in planning the assassination of Castro appear to have come from the Rockefeller Commission itself." (Alexander Cockburn, "Press Clips Spook Leaks from under the Rock," Village Voice, June 9, 1975, p. 16.)
    Note: by November 1963, ". . . Kennedy had clearly indicated to personal messengers in Cuba . . . that the US wanted to start a new dialogue . . ."
    (Kirby Jones, "Unlikely Assassin," The New Republic, July 3 & 10, 1976, p. 6.)
39. Hilsman, op. cit., p. 501.
40. NBC, Vietnam Hindsight, pt. 2, "The Death of Diem," Dec. 22, 1971.
41. Franz Schurmann, Peter Dale Scott, Reginald Zelnik, The Politics of Escalation in Vietnam, p. 95 (PB).
42. Time, March 17, 1967, p. 21.
43. David Wolper, The Final Journey of Robert F. Kennedy (film).

44. Leslie H. Gelb, "Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense," dated Jan. 15, 1969.
    Robert McNamara claimed, "I had only one objective in having the Pentagon Papers collected, and that was to bequeath to scholars the raw material from which they could reexamine the events of the time." (Parade, Nov. 14, 1971, p. 2.)
    After McNamara had read portions of the Pentagon Papers, he said, "You know, they could hang people for what's in there." (David Halberstam, "Losing Big," Esquire, September 1972, p. 95.)
45. Los Angeles Times, June 21, 1971, pt. I, p. 1.
46. Ibid., July 6, 1971, pt. I, p. 11.
47. New York Times, Nov. 27, 1967, p. 1.
    "His argument," said the Times, ". . . seemed to observers about as close as he has ever come publicly to saying that President Kennedy, had he lived, would not be pursuing the present war policy." (Ibid., pp. 1, 15.)
48. Warren Rogers, "Bobby's Decision," Look, April 16, 1968, p. 76.
49. David Halberstam, "Losing Big," Esquire, September 1972, p. 170.
50. Lester David, Ethel, pp. 125, 126, 127.
51. Lester David, "Ethel," Good Housekeeping, November 1970, p. 194.
52. Ibid.
53. George Plimpton, American Journey: The Times of Robert F. Kennedy, p. 294.

PART IV

EPILOGUE

Chapter Nine

". . . what you can do for your country."

How to Protect the Presidency

The office of the Vice-President has been considered lightly. One historian referred to it as "the most useless office ever invented."[1] This was best illustrated by President Kennedy when he picked Lyndon Johnson. Kennedy said, "I'm 43 years old, and I'm the healthiest candidate for President in the United States . . . I'm not going to die in office. So the Vice-Presidency doesn't mean anything."[2]

President John Adams, when he was a Vice-President, saw the capacity of the office. The office had ". . . 'two separate powers—the one in esse and the other in posse.' In esse he was nothing . . . But in posse he could be everything. And the potential of going in a trice from nothing to everything has constituted fundamentally the fascination of the office." Furthermore, ". . . the Vice President inevitably would nourish an appetite for the substance of power not vouchsafed to him in the Constitution."[3]

As this book has shown, the office of Vice-President is a natural hatchery for a plot to take over the Presidency. Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. observed, "The Vice President's only serious job is to wait for the President to die."[4] Or, as Lyndon Johnson said, "The Vice President is like a raven, hovering around the head of the President, reminding him of his mortality."[5] And, "Lyndon Johnson could not have become President

except by succession from the Vice-Presidency."[6] We therefore recommend a Constitutional Amendment to abolish the office.

This action is necessary because of the 25th Amendment, which flatly declares in Section 1: "In case of his [the President's] death . . . the Vice President shall become President."

Until a Constitutional Amendment can be passed, political parties can refuse to fill the office at their nominating conventions.

Historically, the debates during the Constitutional Convention of 1787 ". . . clearly show that the Vice-President was merely intended to discharge the powers and duties of the President temporarily. All of the drafts before the Committees of Detail and Style were explicit in this regard."[7] Furthermore, ". . . the delegates in the ratifying conventions were always careful to distinguish between the President and an acting President."[8]

The language of the Constitution states the Vice-President ". . . shall exercise the office of President (Art. I, sec. 3, cl. 5), that the presidential powers and duties [not the office] shall devolve upon him (Art. II, sec. I, cl. 5), and that he shall act as President (Amend. XII)."[9] In short, "the Constitution does not once say that a Vice-President shall become President . . ."[10]

In an opinion written by Robert Kennedy as Attorney General, he noted ". . . debates in the [Constitutional] Convention and ratifying conventions . . . generally . . . tend to support the argument that a Vice President . . . was never, in the view of the framers of the Constitution, intended to become President."[11] As one scholar stated, "It was clearly the expectation of the Framers that the Vice-President should remain Vice-President, a stopgap . . . whatever the occasion of his succession, and should become President only if and when he was elected as such."[12]

According to Schlesinger, "The vice presidency was an afterthought; and the office was introduced [by the Framers] . . . to insure the election of a national President by requiring electors to vote for two persons, only one of whom could come from their own state."[13] Then, "under the double vote, the person winning most votes became President, the runner-up

Vice President."[14] The 12th Amendment required separate votes for both offices, removing any need for the existence of a Vice-President.[15]

The notion the Vice-President became President when the latter died in office was established without regard to the Framers' intent. When President William H. Harrison died in 1841, his Vice-President, "John Tyler established this precedent when he . . . proceeded to sign all state papers 'John Tyler, President of the United States."[16] As Robert Kennedy observed, "Although President Tyler's action might readily have been questioned had historical materials on the framers' intent been at hand, the fact remains that it has been relied on for the proposition that the Vice President becomes President when the elected President dies . . ."[17] That precedent was exploited by Lyndon Johnson and later legitimatized by the 25th Amendment.[18]

The office of the Vice-President is profoundly undemocratic. The President is picked by the entire nation, not by one section. The process of the President's final selection is by national, popular election, not by party convention. There is ". . . no way for the voter to reject a vice-presidential candidate without also rejecting the presidential nominee."[19] The voter is unable to ". . . split . . . [his or her] ticket between the two offices."[20]

The Vice-President ". . . is often picked to balance the ticket—that is to represent a wing of the party other than that of the presidential candidate. If the presidential candidate is a liberal, the vice-presidential candidate often comes from the more conservative wing of the party; if the head of the ticket has a special appeal to the urban north, the number-two man will often be chosen to bring support from the rural south or west."[21] There is also the ". . . political practice of nominating Vice Presidents to appease disappointed factions of the parties . . ."[22]

In effect, ". . . a Vice President may stand for principles quite different from those approved by the voters at the polls . . ."[23] As Lyndon Johnson noted: "If you have a bad man on the ticket, or a dangerous man on the ticket or a frightening man on the ticket, it can hurt a President."[24] The fact Johnson had no Vice-President between 1963 and 1964 is another illustration of the Framers' intent. The Constitution failed to state how to

fill that office when it was vacant between elections. In addition, none of the succession acts provided for replacement.

With the 25th Amendment, the undemocratic nature of the office isperpetuated: a Vice-President is chosen by appointment, not by election.

Schlesinger asserted, "The Founding Fathers believed that no one who had not been elected to the presidency should serve as President any longer than necessary to organize a new Presidential election."[25]

When a future President dies in office, an orderly transfer-of-power could be done through a Joint Congressional Committee. It could be composed of one member of the House of Representatives, one member of the Senate, and one member from the President's Cabinet. This committee would constitute the government until a special Presidential election could be held. As Sen. Edward M. Kennedy noted, "We already use the special election route to fill unexpected vacancies in the Senate and the House of Representatives." Furthermore, he stated, ". . . from 1792 to 1886, the nation lived under a special-election Presidential-succession statute."[26] After the election, the committee would remain permanently established to function as a body to investigate all aspects of the President's death.

The committee would eliminate the advantage the Vice-President has for an election, i.e., generating a base of sympathy as a successor, such as Johnson did, which resulted in his "landslide" victory. Indeed, in 1964, "the unity [in the Democratic party] was in large measure attributable to the extended emotional hangover from the Kennedy assassination. Alone among the eight accidental Presidents, Johnson had benefited greatly by a public sentiment, even a demand, that he be returned to office to carry to completion the work begun by his predecessor."[27]

None of the committee would be eligible to run for the office of President.

Abolishing the office of the Vice-President would discourage a Cabinet-level cabal. It would be futile because the plotters would be unable to choose the new President. In addition, if a liberal cabal assassinated a conservative President, the resultant election could produce a sympathy vote for a President who was a carbon copy of the assassinated one.

Presidential Protection

The Secret Service in its present form must be abolished. To ensure effective and loyal protection, the President must provide for his own in an organization under his immediate control. Otherwise, his protection is subject to the personal veto of some agents.

Unless abolished, the Secret Service will also continue to grow as a secret police agency, and a threat to others as well as to the Presidency.

At the time of President Kennedy's death in 1963, there were less than 400 agents.[28] In 1970, Chief Rowley wanted to bring a force of 1,565 up to a strength of 2,482.[29]

The power of the Secret Service is not in its numbers, but in the type of information it acquires and how it is used.

In 1964, it was revealed ". . . the Secret Service had greatly broadened the criteria governing information it is requesting from other Federal, state and local agencies, pertaining to the safety of the President."[30] At that time, FBI Director Hoover said ". . . he had some serious apprehensions about the criteria and what use was being made of the information it produced."[31]

In the summer of 1969, the Secret Service issued revised guidelines about the information it wanted. It desired ". . . not only information about obvious threats to the President and others protected by the service, but also . . . About attempts to 'embarass' high officials. 'Regarding civil disturbances.' On people seeking 'redress of imaginary grievances, etc.' On people making 'irrational' or 'abusive statements' about high Government officials. 'Regarding anti-American or anti U.S. Government demonstrations."[32]

According to columnist Jack Anderson in 1972, the Secret Service had a ". . . computerized file of 180,000 suspicious individuals."[33] He reported, "The entire system is actually based on the premise that persons who write threatening letters, participate in demonstrations, make inflammatory 'oral statements' or engage in 'subversive' activities are most likely to attempt an assassination."[34]

As an example, "At first, the Secret Service began investigating every group . . . that expressed the slightest criticism of the President. The Nonviolent Direct Action group came under surveillance, as a typical example, because it 'urged members to write Pres [sic] and other govt [sic] officials to protest the war in Vietnam,' . . ."[35]

In another instance, Anderson said actor Tony Randall was number CO239700 00174 in the Secret Service's file. This apparently was the result of Randall's remarks to the press when he opened a Presidential campaign office for Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy in early 1968. To newsmen, Randall characterized Johnson as the "murderous bastard in the White House," and added, "the SOB lied to us."[36]

When members of a public agency behave according to their personal dislikes rather than law, the danger is obvious. There are several examples.

A Federal District court ruled Secret Service actions at a North Carolina rally in 1971 were "a wholesale assault upon the civil rights and liberties of numerous citizens, in violation of the First, Fourth, Fifth and 14th Amendments."[37] Acting ". . . as political bully-boys to suppress dissent . . . Secret Service tore up anti-Nixon signs and physically removed peaceful citizens from the scene because they were thought to be politically opposed to the President."[38]

In 1972, journalists accused the Secret Service of trying to veto, through its computer's "screening," who would report on the Democratic party's national convention in Miami Beach.[39]

Political intelligence is another area of Secret Service operation. In 1968, an agent supplied information to Lyndon Johnson on Republican Presidential candidate Richard Nixon. In 1972, Democratic Presidential candidate George McGovern was the subject of reports given to Nixon by a Secret Service agent.[40]

Of course, all Presidential candidates are afforded Secret Service "protection."[41]

Declaring War

Our final recommendation is Constitutional. According to Article I, Section 8, it is the exclusive power of Congress "To declare war . . ."

Because ". . . European executives possessed the exclusive power to commit their nations to war, the framers of the American Constitution were nearly unanimous in insisting that their own people, through the Congress, assume such an awesome right."[42] For Jefferson, this amounted to ". . . one effectual check to the Dog of war by transferring the power of letting him loose from the Executive to the Legislative body, from those who are to spend to those who are to pay."[43]

The Constitution makes no mention of the President having the capacity to make war. It lists the specific powers of the President: he can command troops, but he cannot declare war. The doctrine of separation-of-powers would preclude a delegation of war-making authority from Congress to the President. Furthermore, it is the President who is dependent upon Congress to fund the military.

There was no declaration of war for Vietnam, and Congress failed to deny money to the President. In effect, it ratified the actions of a secretive and uncontrollable executive. The Gulf of Tonkin resolution, as the Senate Foreign Relations Committee later admitted, amounted to ". . . an acknowledgement of virtually unlimited Presidential control of the Armed Forces."[44]

The consequences—domestically and internationally—stemming from the longevity and cost of the war will be felt for decades.

We therefore urge Congress assert itself against the Presidency to redress the imbalance in power and to preclude future Vietnams. Congress, by the Constitution, has the authority and power of the purse to take the initiative.

Citizen effort is fundamental. It will require not only immediate and continual pressure on those now in office, but also the recruitment and election of candidates to Congress who will act. Beyond political

parties and administrations, the continuous demand must be made that government be responsive, open, and truthful.

The executive branch is the most powerful and dangerous branch of government. The legacy of Dallas became Vietnam, followed by Watergate. Citizens have the responsibility to set it right. As Thomas Jefferson warned in 1787, if the people ". . . become inattentive to the public affairs . . . Congress and Assemblies, Judges and Governors, shall all become wolves."

Chapter Nine Endnotes:

1. Henry S. Commager, Los Angeles Times, Nov. 6, 1974, Pt. 1, p. 2.
2. O'Donnell, Life, Aug. 7, 1970, p. 47.
3. Henry F. Graff, "A Heartbeat Away," American Heritage, v. 1 5, no. 5, August 1964, p. 81.
   At the 1960 Democratic Convention, one of Johnson's friends ". . . observed that his power would be far less as Vice-President than as Majority Leader; to which Johnson replied, 'power is where power goes." (Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1960, p. 209 (PB).)
4. Los Angeles Times, Sept. 19, 1974, Pt. 2, p. 8.
5. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Imperial Presidency, p. 474 (PB).
6. New York Times, Sept. 9, 1975, p. 39.
7. John D. Ferrick, From Failing Hands: The Story of Presidential Succession, p. 50.
8. Ruth C. Silva, Presidential Succession, p. 1 2.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
11. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Report, "No. 1 382, Presidential Inability and Vacancies in the Office of the Vice President," 88th Congress, 2nd Session, Aug. 13, 1964, p. 8.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
13. Wall Street Journal, Aug. 27, 1974, p. 22.
14. Schlesinger, Imperial Presidency, P. 482 (PB).
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 483-484 (PB).
16. Edward S. Corwin and Jack W. Peltason, Understanding the Constitution, p. 45 (PB).

17. Senate Report No. 1382, op. cit., p. 103.
18. At least one effort was made to challenge Johnson. "Shortly after Johnson took the presidential oath, Leonard C. Jones, a New Mexico attorney, unsuccessfully requested Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia to institute a suit to clarify the matter [of succession]. Finally, in June, 1964, Jones instituted his own suit in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, seeking an ultimate determination that Johnson's becoming President was unlawful, illegal and unauthorized by the Constitution. The suit was dismissed in September, 1964." (Feerick, *op. cit.*, p. 10.)
19. Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
20. Edgar W. Waugh, Second Consul; The Vice Presidency: Our Greatest Political Problem, p. 54.
21. James M. Burns and Jack W. Peltason, Government by the People, pp. 443-444.
22. Senate Report No. 1382, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
23. Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 1 69.
24. Walter Cronkite, "LBJ Talks Politics," CBS News, Jan. 27, 1 972.
25. Wall Street Journal, Aug. 27, 1974, P. 22.
26. New York Times, Oct. 21, 1974, p. 33.
27. Donald Young, American Roulette: the History and Dilemma of the Vice Presidency, p. 311.
28. New York Times, Sept. 27, 1964, p. 1.
29. *Ibid.*, Apr. 5, 1970, p. 49.
30. *Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1964, p. 33.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1969, pp. 1, 17.
    As of 1975, those guidelines were still in effect. (*New York Times*, Sept. 28, 1975, IV, p. 1.)
33. Column of May 22, 1972.
    In 1975, the Secret Service claimed there were only 47,000 names. (*New York Times*, Sept. 28, 1975, IV, p. 1.)
34. Column of May 20, 1972.
35. Column of Jan. 20, 1975.
36. Column of May 22, 1972.
    During an interview by Dick Cavett, Randall said the Secret Service put his name in the "potential assassins" file, and monitored his

phone calls. Furthermore, the IRS audited his income tax return annually. (ABC, Sept. 7, 1973.)

37. *New York Times*, March 10, 1974, p. 4.
38. *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1974, p. 25.
39. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1972, p. 24.
40. *Ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1972, p. 1.
41. *Ibid.*
42. William R. Tansill, Legislative Reference Service, "The Power of the President to Commit American Armed Forces Abroad without Congressional Authorization—the Problem and Some Proposals," May 20, 1970, p. 2.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, National Commitments, Report No. 797, 90th Congress, 1st Session, p. 20.

Appendix A

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On November 22, 1963, Special Agents FRANCIS X. O'NEILL, Jr. and JAMES W. SIBERT witnessed the arrival of the President's body on Air Force #1 at Andrews Air Force Base. They accompanied the body in the White House motorcade to the Bethesda Naval Hospital, Bethesda, Maryland. During the course of the subsequent autopsy of the President's body, which was witnessed by aforementioned Agents, they spoke to Mr. ROY KELLERMAN, Assistant to the Agent in Charge of the White House Detail of the Secret Service, and Mr. WILLIAM GREER, a Secret Service Agent who was the chauffeur of the President's vehicle at the time of the assination. Mr. KELLERMAN was also present in the presidential vehicle, riding next to the driver at the time of the assassination.

Mr. KELLERMAN advised that as the ranking Secret Service Agent with the President's party, he was responsible for the presidential security in Dallas. He stated the advanced security arrangements made for this specific trip were the most stringent and thorough ever employed by the Secret Service for the visit of a President to an American city.

He advised the presidential vehicle had just completed traversing through a throng of people of approximately 250,000, and he had just breathed a sigh of relief as they were approaching an underpass.

He advised he heard a shot and immediately turned around, looking past Governor CONNALLY, who was seated directly in back of him, to the President. He observed the President slump forward and heard him say, "Get me to a hospital." Mr. KELLERMAN then heard Mrs. KENNEDY say, "Oh, no!", as the President leaned towards her. He immediately advised the driver to take the President to the nearest hospital. He said that from the time of the shooting to the time they got to the hospital took approximately eight minutes.

He stated he distinctly heard three shots. He advised he did not see the Governor get hit, nor did he observe the second bullet hit the President.

Mr. KELLERMAN said that the President was breathing and gasping for breath on arrival at the hospital, but did not appear to be conscious.

FBI interviews with Secret Service Agents, Roy Kellerman and William Greer conducted on November 22 and 27, 1963.

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Special Agent GREER advised that he was at the wheel of the presidential limousine which was carrying President KENNEDY and his wife and Governor CONNALLY and his wife as well as Special Agent KELLERMAN. He advised that the throngs of people were great and that he had just emerged from the congested area of people and was proceeding into an open area of the highway, which a short distance away passed beneath an overpass.

GREER stated that he first heard what he thought was possibly a motorcycle backfire and glanced around and noticed that the President had evidently been hit. He thereafter got on the radio and communicated with the other vehicles, stating that they desired to get the President to the hospital immediately.

GREER stated that at the time that this incident occurred, he was traveling at the rate of 12 miles per hour and following this incident he "floored" the limousine, following the police escort to the hospital. He estimated that it took him approximately eight minutes to arrive at that location. GREER stated that they have always been instructed to keep the motorcade moving at a considerable speed inasmuch as a moving car offers a much more difficult target than a vehicle traveling at a very slow speed. He pointed out in this connection that on numerous occasions he has attempted to keep the car moving at a rather fast rate, but in view of the President's popularity and desire to maintain close liaison with the people, he has, on occasion, been instructed by the President to "slow down."

GREER stated that he has been asking himself if there was anything he could have done to have avoided this incident, but stated that things happened so fast that he could not account for full developments in this matter.

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The President's seat can be adjusted to a height of approximately ten inches. The only person who can adjust this seat is the President himself. This seat was not elevated on November 22.

KELLERMAN advised that preceding the Presidential vehicle out of Love Field, there was what is known as a lead car. This car belonged to the Dallas City Police Department, in which were Special Agent WINSTON LAWSON, United States Secret Service who was in charge of the Advanced Security in Dallas for the Presidential visit. This car is equipped with a portable radio connected with the Presidential car. The vehicle also had contact with the Dallas City Police Department. In addition to the lead vehicle, there was a motor cycle escort in front of the lead vehicle, along side the lead vehicle and along side the Presidential car. In the rear of the Presidential car was another White House Limousine containing Secret Service Agents. These agents walked along side the Presidential vehicle until the vehicle left the area of the apron. The agents then got into their car and followed immediately in back of the President.

KELLERMAN went on to say that the vehicle passed through the center of town doing the normal speed which was adjusted by the number of people in the crowd and on the streets through which the Presidentical vehicle passed. The vehicle went through the center of town on a street, which name KELLERMAN did not recall. Towards the end of town, the vehicle came to a sharp right turn in the street. Few people were on either side at this time. In a matter of a block, the road veered to the left. There were extremely few people on either side of the road at this point. The vehicle was still going at the normal speed which KELLERMAN estimated to be approximately 15 miles per hour. The Secret Service car following the Presidential vehicle was "tight close at hand ".

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KELLERMAN advised he does not recall passing the Texas State Book Repository Building. He advised the vehicle appeared to be going down a small decline at which time everybody in the car was seated.

KELLERMAN said he heard a noise like a firecracker

At this point, KELLERMAN advised he had been in almost daily contact for the past three years, with the President, and said he could pick his voice out from any group of people.

Upon hearing a noise like a firecracker, he distinctly and positively heard the President say "My God, I've been hit". KELLERMAN advised he immediately turned his head to the left rear and almost instantaneously heard two additional shots.

Upon turning his head to the left, he observed President KENNEDY with his left hand in back of him appearing to be reaching to a point on his right shoulder. The President fell on Mrs. KENNEDY's lap. She stated "My God, what are they doing to you?" Governor CONNALLY never said a word. Through the corner of his eye, he noticed that Governor CONNALLY appeared to be falling back face up in the lap of his wife. KELLERMAN stated he immediately turned around and advised Mr. GREER, "Get going, we've been hit". KELLERMAN had the microphone in his hand and radioed to LAWSON stating "we've been hit, lead us to a hospital immediately. Tell the police to escort us as fast as they can." He turned back again to the rear of the vehicle and saw Special Agent CLINTON HILL of the Secret Service climbing up on the back of the vehicle. HILL had been one of the agents in the follow-up vehicle immediately in back of the Presidential car. KELLERMAN stated that at this time, to the best of his recollection, the President was lying in the lap of Mrs. KENNEDY. He observed that Governor CONNALLY was now lying with his head up in the lap of Mrs. CONNALLY. KELLERMAN advised he asked agent HILL if he was all right and told him to hang on.

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Date 11/29/63

Mr. WILLIAM ROBERT GREER, Special Agent, U.S. Secret Service, assigned to the White House detail, who resides at 9513 Sheridan, Seabrook Acres, Maryland, was interviewed at The Secret Service Office in the White House and furnished the following information.

GREER serves in the capacity of Senior Agent assigned to driving the President's vehicle in motorcades. Two of the White House vehicles to be used in the Dallas Presidential visit had been flown into Love Field, Dallas, Texas in a C-130 type aircraft on the morning of November 22, 1963. GREER was in company with the Presidential party which arrived at Love Field in Air Force I, a jet used by President KENNEDY. On the President's arrival, all of the vehicles to be used in the motorcade were in position on the ramp and soon after the party had landed, they took their positions in the awaiting cars and the motorcade departed for downtown Dallas.

It is normal procedure for the vehicle bearing the President to be the second car in the motorcade, which follows the lead car generally occupied by local police and the Secret Service Agent who had conducted the advance survey of the route prior to the date of the President's visit. In the Dallas parade GREER was driving the seven-passenger Lincoln Continental "bubble-top" and as customary, President KENNEDY was sitting on the right of the rear seat. Mrs. KENNEDY was seated to his left, Governor CONNALLY was seated directly in front of the President on the "jump-seat" which folds down on the floor between the front and rear seats. Mrs. CONNALLY was seated to the left of her husband on the "jump-seat" and Special Agent ROY H. KELLERMAN, of the Secret Service, was seated to the right of GREER. As this vehicle departed from the ramp at Love Field, additional Secret Service Agents were on foot surrounding the vehicle until it emerged from the crowded area.

The lead car, which was directly in front of the Presidential vehicle, was a police vehicle occupied by members of the City of Dallas Police Department and Secret Service Agent LAWSON, who had conducted the advanced survey of the Dallas route. GREER estimated that the motorcade was traveling at a speed of 15 to 20 miles per hour down the main thoroughfare, which was lined on both sides by vast crowds of people and many additional

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On 11/27/63 at Washington, D.C. File # BA 89-30

by SAs JAMES W. SIBERT & FRANCIS X. O'NEILL, JR.:mk Date dictated 11/27/63

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The Presidential vehicle arrived at the Parkland Memorial Hospital in a matter of minutes. KELLERMAN stated he immediately jumped out of the vehicle and told hospital personnel to bring two stretchers. As the stretchers came out, KELLERMAN and GREER opened the back door of the Presidential car. Governor CONNALLY's eyes were open. He was told by KELLERMAN "Governor CONNALLY, everything is going to be all right". The Governor nodded his head in the affirmative. Three persons got into the vehicle at this time and lifted the Governor onto the first stretcher. They then got back in the Presidential car and with the assistance of KELLERMAN and GREER lifted the President from the lap of Mrs. KENNEDY and put him on the second stretcher. He described the President's head as lying partially on the lap of Mrs. KENNEDY and back against the rear cushion of the back seat. According to KELLERMAN, the President at this time was alive because he noticed that he was breathing. KELLERMAN advised he did not notice the extent of the injury to the President although he noticed a wound in the back of his head. The President's eyes were shut.

KELLERMAN advised the President was immediately taken into the Emergency Ward where several doctors began working with a feverish activity on Mr. KENNEDY to save his life. Several moments late, KELLERMAN stated the President died.

Mr. KELLERMAN said that from the time of this incident he has been going over in his mind the entire activity concerning the assassination of the President. The information that he has furnished to interviewing agents is factual and to the best of his knowledge is everything that occurred on November 22, 1963.

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persons were observing the motorcade through open windows in office buildings along both sides of the route. The weather was balmy and clear and many of the people were without coats.

The procession made a right turn, facing in the direction of the Book Depository Building and then a left turn, bringing the motorcade in front of this building which was then on the right. The same speed was maintained as the motorcade passed in front of this building and GREER estimates that he had crossed the center line of the building when he heard a noise which sounded like a motorcycle backfire. On hearing this noise he glanced to his right toward KELLERMAN and out of the corner of his eye noticed that the Governor appeared to be falling toward his wife. He thereafter recalls hearing some type of outcry after which KELLERMAN said, "Let's get out of here." He further related that at the time of hearing the sound he was starting down an incline which passes beneath a railroad crossing and after passing under this viaduct, he closed in on the lead car and yelled to the occupants and a nearby police motorcyclist, "Hospital, Hospital!" The lead car sped in the direction of Parkland Hospital closely followed by GREER, who at times floored the accelerator.

On arrival at the hospital, GREER and KELLERMAN jumped out of the vehicle and first removed Governor CONNALLY, who was placed on a stretcher. CONNALLY was removed first in order to push the "jump seat" forward thus permitting removal of the President. GREER recalls helping take the President's stretcher into the emergency operating room. It is his recollection that the President was breathing when removed from the vehicle and transported into this room.

GREER stated that since he was occupied with driving the vehicle, he did not have much opportunity to observe the activity occurring in the rear of the vehicle after the President and Governor were shot.

The following description of Agent GREER was obtained through observation and interview:

Name	WILLIAM ROBERT GREER
Address	9513 Sheridan Street, Seabrook Acres, Maryland
Nationality	American
Race	White
Sex	Male
DOB	9/22/09
Place of Birth	Northern Ireland
Height	5'10"

***

C07

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JWS;FXO:mk
3

Weight	175 lbs.
Eyes	Blue
Hair	Brown, greying
Marital Status	Married - one son
Occupation	Secret Service Agent since November, 1950, after previously serving with uniform force, Secret Service, since 10/1/45.

Appendix B

DRAFT

Honorable Robert F. Kennedy
Attorney General of the United States
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20530

Dear General:

Throughout the course of the investigation conducted by this Commission, the Department of Justice has been most helpful in forwarding information relevant to this Commission's inquiry.

The Commission is now in the process of completing its investigation. Prior to the publication of its report, the Commission would like to be advised whether you are aware of any additional information relating to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy which has not been sent to the Commission. In view of the widely circulated allegations on this subject, the Commission would like to be informed in particular whether you have any information suggesting that the assassination of President Kennedy was caused by a domestic or foreign conspiracy. Needless to say, if you have any suggestions to make regarding the investigation of these allegations or any other phase of the Commission's work, we stand ready to act upon them.

On behalf of the Commission I wish to thank you and your representatives for the assistance you have provided to the Commission.

Sincerely,

Chairman

June 4, 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. J. Lee Rankin, General Counsel

FROM: Howard P. Willens ← Please modify as indicated. J. L. R.

SUBJECT: Proposed Exchange of Letters between the Commission and the Attorney General

Attached are drafts of a proposed exchange of letters between the Chairman of this Commission and the Attorney General. As I have mentioned to you, this recommended procedure is the result of my recent discussions at the Department with Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach and the Attorney General. The Attorney General would prefer to handle his obligations to the Commission in this way rather than appear as a witness.

The proposed response by the Attorney General has, of course, not been approved by him or on his behalf by the Deputy Attorney General. It represents a revision of an earlier letter which I did show to them during my conference with them today. At that time the Attorney General informed me that he had not received any reports from the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation regarding the investigation of the assassination, and that his principal sources of information have been the Chief Justice, the Deputy Attorney General and myself. This accounts for the specific mention of these persons in the second paragraph of his letter to the Chief Justice.

Attachments.

One - (Ltr)
6/4/64

DRAFT

Honorable Earl Warren
Chief Justice of the United States
The Supreme Court
Washington, D. C. 20543

Dear Mr. Chief Justice:

In response to your letter of _____ I would like to assure you that all information relating in any way to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in the possession of the Department of Justice has been referred to the President's Commission for appropriate review and investigation.

As you know, I am personally not aware of the detailed results of the extensive investigation in this matter which has been conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I have, however, received periodic reports about the work of the Commission from you, Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach and Mr. Willens of the Department of Justice, who has worked with the Commission for the past several months. Based on these reports, I am confident that every effort is being made by the President's Commission to fulfill the objectives of Executive Order No. 11130 by conducting a thorough investigation into all the facts relating to the assassination.

In response to your specific inquiry, I would like to state definitely that I know of no credible evidence to support the allegations that the assassination of President Kennedy was caused by a domestic or

foreign conspiracy. I have no suggestions to make at this time regarding any additional investigation which should be undertaken by the Commission prior to the publication of its report. In the event that the members of the Commission believe that I can contribute in any way to the investigation by appearing as a witness, I will be available to do so at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Attorney General

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

August 4, 1964

Honorable Earl Warren
Chief Justice of the United States
The Supreme Court
Washington, D. C. 20543

Dear Mr. Chief Justice:

In response to your letter of June 11, 1964, I would like to assure you that all information relating in any way to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in the possession of the Department of Justice has been referred to the President's Commission for appropriate review and investigation.

As you know, I am personally not aware of the detailed results of the extensive investigation in this matter which has been conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I have, however, received periodic reports about the work of the Commission from you, Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach and Mr. Willens of the Department of Justice, who has worked with the Commission for the past several months. Based on these reports, I am confident that every effort is being made by the President's Commission to fulfill the objectives of Executive Order No. 11130 by conducting a thorough investigation into all the facts relating to the assassination.

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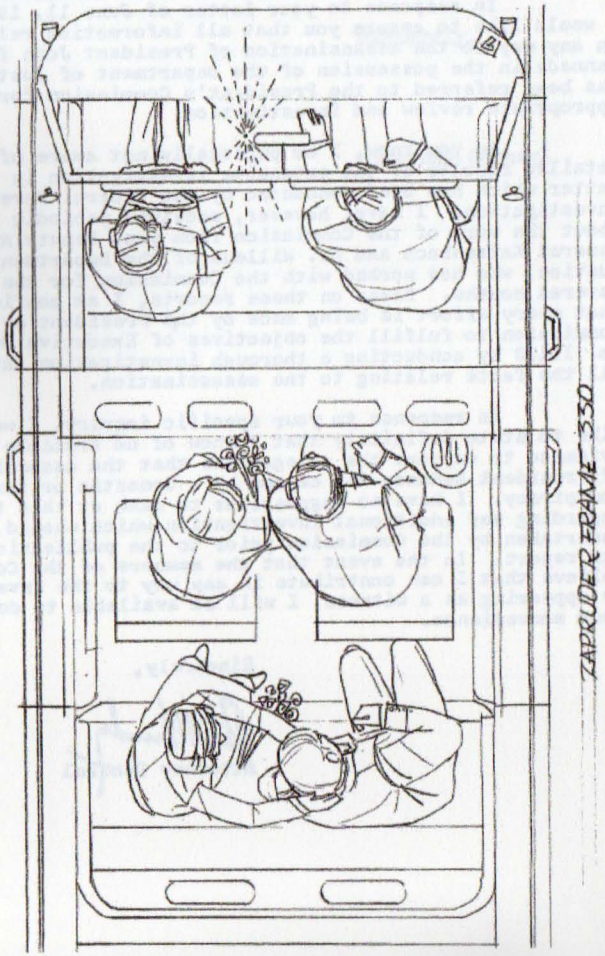
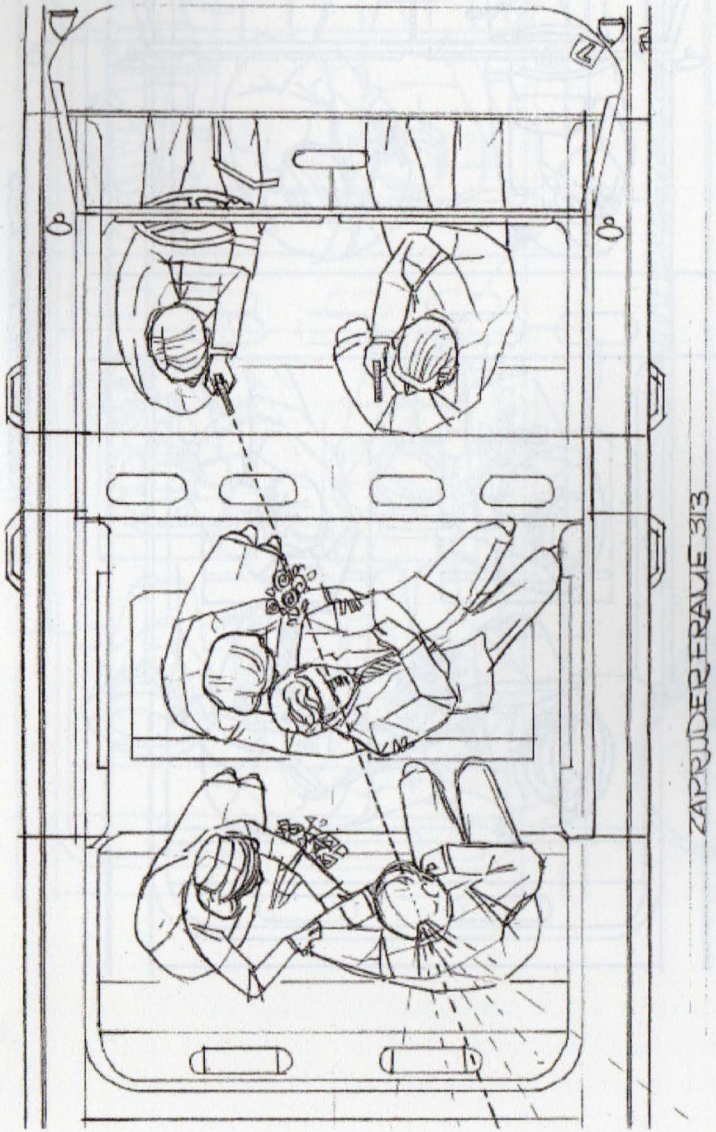
Sincerely,

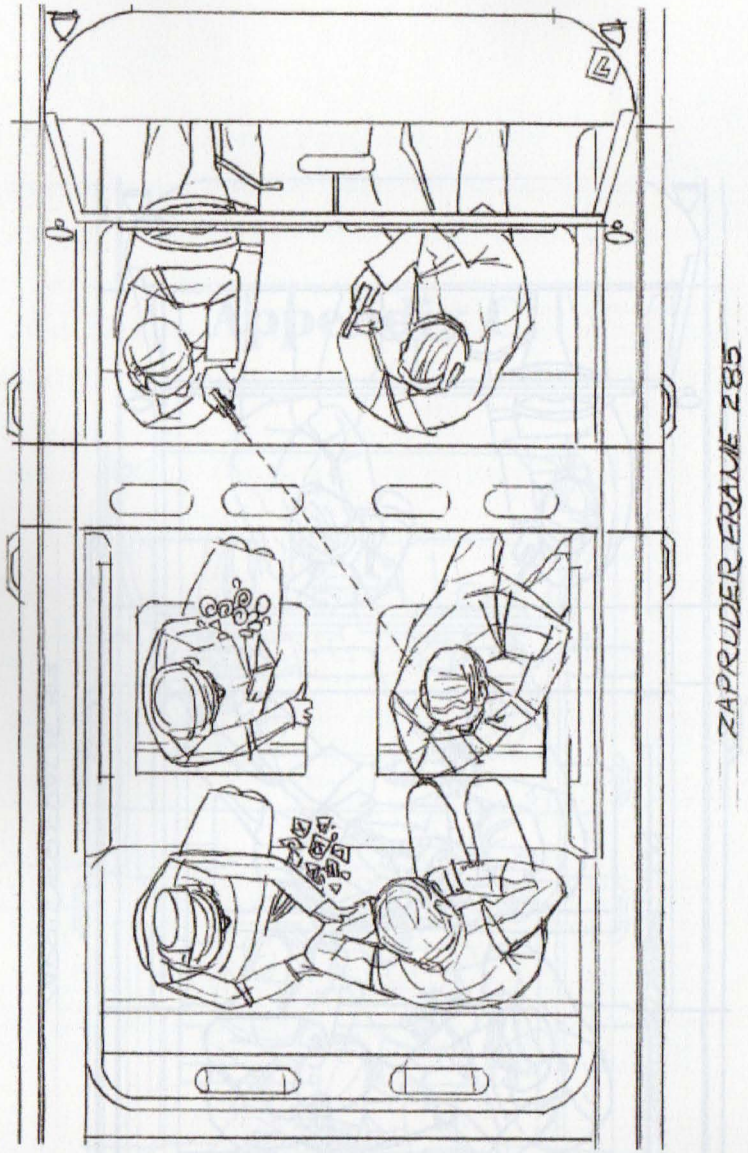
Robert F. Kennedy

Attorney General

Appendix C



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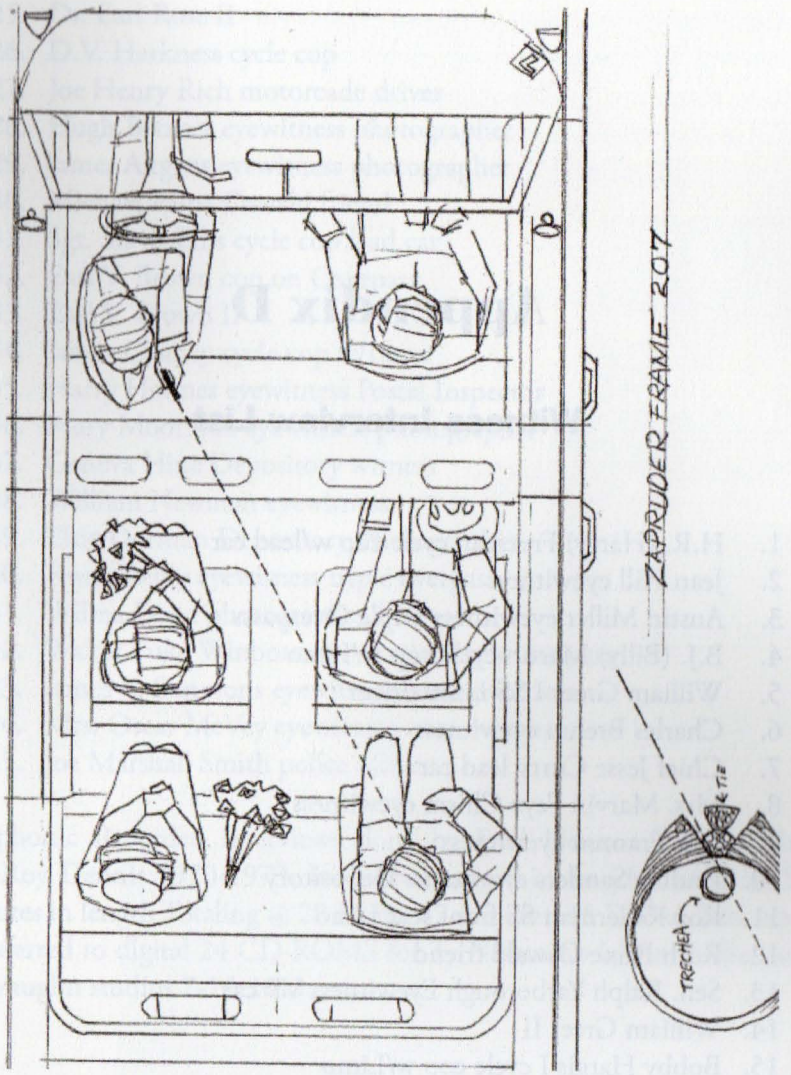
ZAPRUDER FRAME 207
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Appendix D

Witness Interview List

1. H.R. (Harry) Freeman cycle cop w/lead car
2. Jean Hill eyewitness
3. Austin Miller eyewitness Triple Overpasss
4. B.J. (Billy) Martin cycle cop w/Limo
5. William Greer I SS Limo driver
6. Charles Brehm eyewitness
7. Chief Jesse Curry lead car
8. Mrs. Marvin Faye Chism eyewitness
9. Jack Franzen eyewitness
10. Pauline Sanders eyewitness Depository
11. Roy Kellerman SS front seat Limo
12. Ruth Paine Oswald friend
13. Sen. Ralph Yarborough Eyewitness VP car
14. William Greer II
15. Bobby Hargis I cycle cop w/Limo
16. Capt. Will Fritz Homicide Chief
17. Douglas Jackson cycle cop w/Limo
18. George A. Davis eyewitness Triple Overpass
19. Herschel Jacks motorcade driver
20. M.L. (Marion) Baker cycle cop
21. Roy Truly Depository
22. Tom Dillard Press car
23. Bobby Hargis II
24. Dr. Earl Rose I Coroner

25. Dr. Earl Rose II
26. D.V. Harkness cycle cop
27. Joe Henry Rich motorcade driver
28. Hugh Betzner eyewitness photographer
29. James Altgens eyewitness photographer
30. Michael Paine Oswald friend
31. Sgt. Stavis Ellis cycle cop lead car
32. Earl V. Brown cop on Overpass
33. Earl V. Brown II
34. James Chaney cycle cop w/Limo
35. Harry Holmes eyewitness Postal Inspector
36. Mary Moorman eyewitness photographer
37. Geneva Hine Depository witness
38. William Newman eyewitness
39. Elsie Dorman Depository Photographer
40. Frank Reilly eyewitness triple overpass
41. Wilma Bond photographer
42. Walter Luke Winborn eyewitness triple overpass
43. James L. Simmons eyewitness triple overpass
44. Mrs. Oscar McVey eyewitness near overpass
45. Joe Marshall Smith police officer

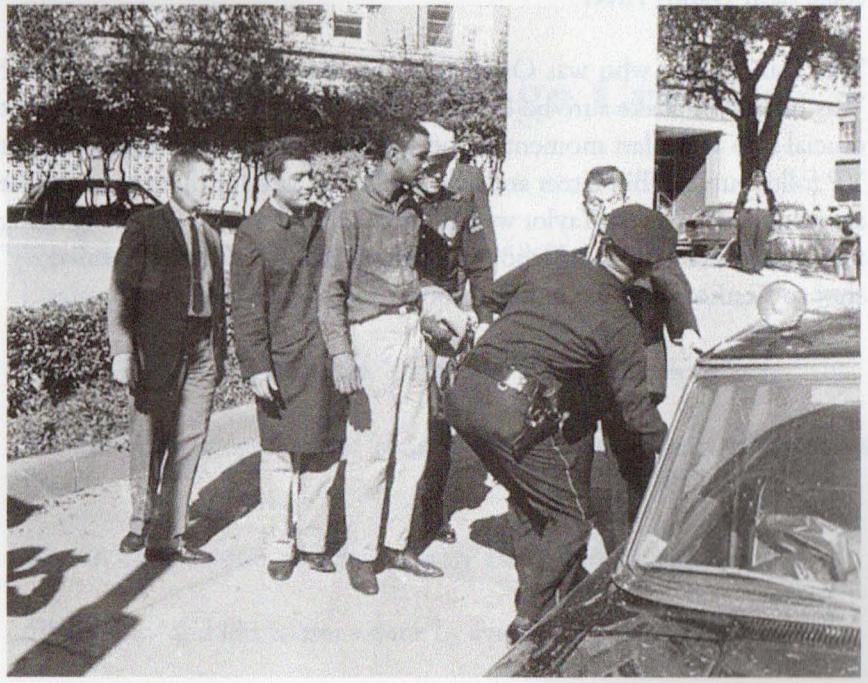
Telephonic Recorded interviews done by Fred Newcomb w/Gil Toff and Roy Dennis 1970-1973. Interviews ranged in length from 3 to 58 minutes in length Totaling @ 28 Hours 47 minutes. 18 Reel to Reel tapes transferred to digital 24 CD ROMS for Ty Newcomb by Jim Miller and Joe Vaughn studios 7-10-2011.

Appendix E

The Mystery of the "Walkie-Talkie" Man

The James Altgens photo taken mid way through the assassination seems to show a man in a trench coat holding an old Motorola walkie-talkie from the early 1960's up to his mouth. He also appears to be talking into it. He can be seen standing to the right of Lyndon Johnson's Secret Service followup car on the curb looking down the street towards the Limousine. (see Fig.1)

Later on, after the assassination, the same man in the black trench coat is photographed getting into a police car for questioning with a slight smirk on his face. He appears to have the large walkie-talkie in an inside pocket just behind his right hand as its' outline and bulge is clearly visible. Who wears a trench coat like that on a warm sunny day? (see Fig. 2)



About 2 years ago his identity became known from a forum hosted by JFK Lancer online. He is without a doubt Danny Arce and he and Bonnie Rae Williams (also being put into the police car) worked on the 6th floor with Lee Harvey Oswald. Both were interviewed by the Warren Commission. Arce in fact was one of if not the **last** person to see Oswald on that floor before leaving for lunch. His testimony is vague about where he was during the shooting.

Certainly one of the most important parts of this set up is to make sure that Oswald would not wander down to the street to watch the parade and be photographed during the shooting. That would be "game over" for the conspirators.

The question then remains: how could the plotters in the motorcade know for sure that Oswald was out of sight and that the assassination was a "go" and to start shooting? Surely, if Oswald was being set up to take the rap he had to be out of sight but the real shooters would have no way of knowing for sure without someone keeping a close eye on him. Enter stage right Danny Arce.

Was Danny Arce who was Oswald's co-worker also Oswald's "handler"? Was his job to make sure he (Oswald) was sequestered and to relay that crucial info at the last moment to the 2 shooters in both the Limo and the VP follow-up car, Bill Greer and Warren Taylor, and for them to begin the shooting now? Warren Taylor would fire the first shot into the air signaling to Greer it was a "go" and who would then respond with the "retaliatory" shot to Kennedy's throat to both wound and silence him.

Photo and Image Credits

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Hughes Film © 1967 The Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza.

All Photos by James Altgens Wide World Photos courtesy AP Associated Press.

Warren Commission exhibits courtesy The National Archives.

All graphics and illustrations done by Fred T. Newcomb

Every effort was made to find license holders for various images found in this book but a few were to no avail. Some are now Public Domain. Please contact the author's son Tyler Newcomb (tylernewcomb@mac.com) to send any relevant information for permission to use and the cost.

"Newcomb and Adams have researched this whole matter far more extensively than I have, and they have come to far more specific conclusions. What they write is shocking—more shocking than some of the earlier, more frenetically expressed charges and insinuations—almost stunning because they are not insinuations at all but flat statements as if of known fact, known inferentially, to be sure, but inescapably. Then, as indicated above, they adduce a wealth, not to say a plethora, of documentation. Their imputations against the Secret Service are in general no more extreme than many which have long passed current against the CIA.

I don't know whether the Secret Service killed the man it is hired to protect or not, just as I don't know whether Huey Long was shot by his own bodyguard, as many believe in Louisiana. I'm not a detective, but just a fellow who sits and reads books. I also read newspapers and magazines. Sometimes I can't help thinking about what I read. As I read Newcomb and Adams I could not confirm or automatically accept what they were saying. But neither, as I examined their documentation, could I charge them with recklessness or arguing from prejudice or malice. Whether they have seen correctly what they have looked at, I think they have called the shots (if you will pardon the gruesome pun) as they have seen them."

—Prof. Medford Evans October, 1975 review of *Murder From Within* in *American Opinion*

Written in 1974, Murder From Within tells what actually happened to President Kennedy, the consequences of his murder, and what actions Americans can take to protect their institutions from further internal assault.

This plot, which involved only a handful of high officials and a few Secret Service agents, called for President Kennedy to be brought to Dallas and executed in public. His body was then forcibly removed from the control of the Dallas Coroner and flown to Washingon, D.C., to a military hospital. There, autopsy findings were supervised to foil a later investigation and implicate a scapegoat.

The scapegoat for the crime was placed near the motorcade by being told to look for work at locations on one of two likely parade routes. Once he had a job, the motorcade was planned to pass in front of where he worked. In this way, it would appear that he had found his position by accident. To plan the route first and then place the scapegoat in position would raise serious questions in an investigation about his prior knowledge.

Seven years in the making, Murder From Within shows in detail exactly how a small high level group within Kennedy's own cabinet betrayed him and killed him to benefit an ambitious vice president determined to become president no matter what.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

FRED NEWCOMB, now 82, an award-winning advertising art director with expertise in photography and graphics, began his study of the assassination as far back as 1966 when he showed how the notorious Oswald backyard photos, one of which ended up on the cover of *Life* magazine, were altered. **PERRY ADAMS**, now deceased, political scientist and editor of *Probe* (an investigative newspaper based in Santa Barbara, California) teamed up with Newcomb to write *Murder From Within*.

The book is long overdue and finally being made available to the public. It answers Warren Commission member and former CIA Director (who was fired by President Kennedy) Allen Dulles's original challenge to the Commission's critics in 1966: "If they've found another assassin, let them name names and produce their evidence."

***MURDER FROM WITHIN* ANSWERS THAT CHALLENGE.**

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